

# AFRICA



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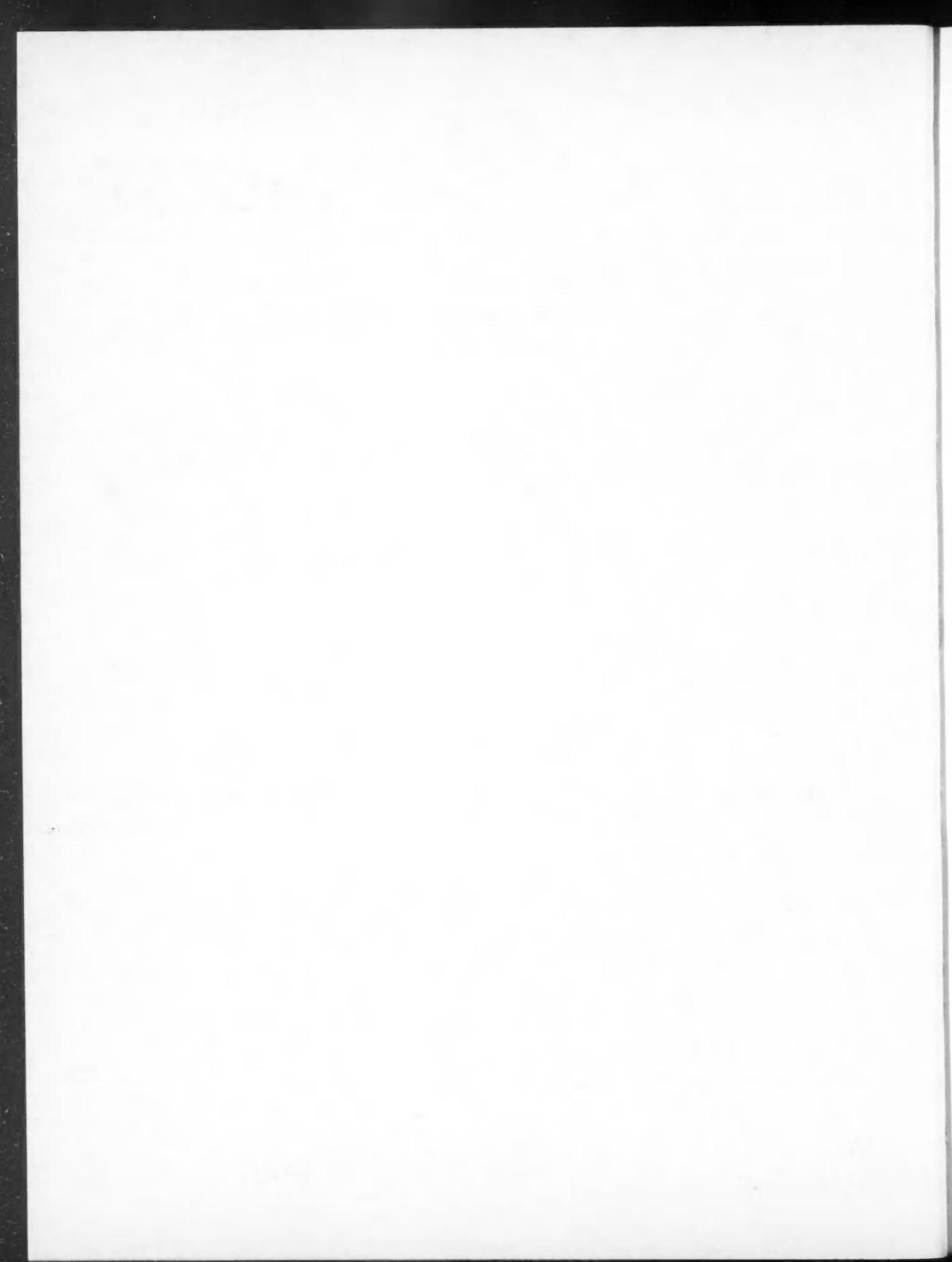
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# COMMENT

THERE ARE some good grounds for optimism in the assurances Mr. Oliver Lyttelton has given both with regard to the land question in the Southern Province of Nyasaland and the increase of African representation in the Legislative Council (where the Africans have made a request for parity with the European and Asian groups).

Mr. Lyttelton, however critical one may feel about some of his policies, is not the type of man who gives easy assurances and then retreats from them, and Africans are hoping that his strength of character will make him as determined in fulfilling his promises to them in face of unreasoning opposition from settlers as he was determined over the question of federation.

Neither Europeans nor Africans are likely to gain anything from federation if a rigidity of attitude on the part of both sides is going to prevent any give and take or any realistic recognition that the working of any constitution requires people who genuinely want to fulfil their political ambitions by the methods of peaceful persuasion and of mutual respect. On the other hand, the absence of constitutional procedures and the violation of values inherent in the banishment without trial of African chiefs, whether of Chief Gomani or the Kabaka of Buganda, is destructive of mutual confidence and respect on which alone a multi-racial civilisation can be founded.

In many parts of Asia and Africa we who so often criticise Britain's policies must say that perhaps it has been her greatest contribution to history that she has actively encouraged people to develop their own political institutions towards increasingly responsible forms of self-government; and that her own institutions have been sufficiently flexible to allow colonial peoples to attain increasing political rights albeit not without immense effort and self-sacrifice, when elsewhere in many parts of the world freedom was being increasingly restricted.

The challenging situation that confronts Britain to-day in Kenya, Uganda and other parts of Africa is in part a challenge of her own creation, for the ideas of freedom and justice which have inspired so many of the struggles of her own history, and which her schools and universities have propagated, have taken root in a way that has not happened under some other administering powers.

It is not easy for this to be remembered in the stress and turmoil of struggle, but if the way forward is to be found for a process which began with the emancipation of the slaves in Africa, both Africa and Britain will require leaders who will be clear-headed in the midst of crisis, and will keep their sense of balance and history, in all the difficulties confronting them.

\* \* \* \* \*

## Chief Philip Gomani

WE READ almost every day of Mau Mau deaths in Kenya, but the death of Chief Philip Gomani, of the Angoni people in Nyasaland, passed unnoticed in the British press last week. Yet he was the first exponent amongst the Angoni of non-violence as a form of resistance to injustice, and will always live in the annals of African liberation and the struggle for justice of his people. To those in Britain who know his story, he has helped to bring home a sense of selflessness and deep

Christian conviction which are not often accorded the publicity which other happenings in Africa receive.

After a lifetime of loyal service to his people and to the Crown and British Government, during which he recruited men for two world wars, he decided to resist what he felt to be an injustice in the imposition of federation on his people. His resistance was to take the more civilised method of non-violence which came naturally to him as an expression of his deep Christian piety. In a way it was a unique episode—his arrest by the police, and subsequent release without violence by his own people. For many years he had suffered from an incurable illness, and after being re-arrested and exiled he was in hospital for some months. He died in exile.

The Chief, from a letter received shortly before his death never lost faith in his religion or in Britain, which in spite of his experience of its politicians and administrators, he still regarded as a Christian country. Lord Hailey had written of him: "As a Native Authority Gomani is active and commands very general respect, both in his own tribe and in the Protectorate generally," and the missionary of the Dutch Reformed Church who took his funeral service spoke of the courage and bravery of the Chief, and his love of people of all colours.

It is right that these things should be remembered as well as other contemporary happenings, for it is out of that spirit that friendship and respect has been preserved between many millions of people in Asia and Britain.

MICHAEL SCOTT

## CENTRAL AFRICA Nyasaland

### STATEMENT BY THE COLONIAL SECRETARY

ON HIS return to England, after a week's visit to Nyasaland, The Rt. Hon. Oliver Lyttelton, Colonial Secretary, reported to Parliament on the discussions he had had with representative groups of the three main communities: Africans, Whites and Asians. He was in favour of providing for an increase in African representation in the Legislative Council.<sup>1</sup> He dealt with land problems in the Southern Province where serious riots had occurred in 1953.<sup>2</sup> About four per cent of the land area of Nyasaland, or approximately 887,000 acres, remains in private ownership, he said. Of this, land already developed under economic crops presents no problem, and in fact has been the foundation of the economic progress and wealth of the Territory. Land occupied by African tenants presents the main problem, especially where the larger estates are concerned, and where relations between landlords and tenants have not been good. "I am satisfied," he declared, "that the Tangata system (a form of tenancy),<sup>3</sup> particularly on the large estates, has outlived its usefulness and should be brought to an end. The Governor is therefore examining

<sup>1</sup>Present Legislative Council: 3 *ex-officio*, 7 official members, and 10 unofficial members of whom 5 are Europeans, 3 Africans and 1 Asian. Also one member nominated by the Governor.

<sup>2</sup>See DIGEST, Vol. I, Nos. 11 and 12.

<sup>3</sup>See DIGEST, Vol. I, No. 11—supplement.

proposals to give effect to this intention. In particular he is negotiating with the owners of some of the larger estates with a view to acquiring certain land which is closely occupied by African tenants. He will also seek to secure that any undeveloped and unoccupied lands are either put to use within a reasonable period or, if they are suitable for the settlement of Africans, are acquired by Government. In certain areas he may be able to arrange, in co-operation and agreement with owners and tenants, for small parcels of land occupied by a few tenants but otherwise suitable for development, to be freed for development by moving the tenants to neighbouring land acquired by the Government." Already the Government was ready to take over about 200,000 acres. He was hopeful that he could count on the co-operation of the estate owners in implementing this policy which "is aimed at removing a potential source of friction between Europeans and Africans in Nyasaland which, so long as it exists, must be an obstacle to the creation of goodwill between the communities which is vital to the future of them all."

*The Manchester Guardian* (May 25, 1954) commented that Mr. Lyttelton's statement deserved "a warm welcome so far as it goes", and that the success of his proposals would "depend largely on the detailed arrangements made for putting them into effect". The editorial pointed out the disturbances in the Southern Province last year arose from the dispute over the "Tangata" system, but that the friction had been going on for much longer than that: "Thirty years ago the East Africa Commission found 'grave doubt whether the demands for rent made by many estate owners on the resident natives are sound in law, and whether the Government is justified in enforcing them'."

*The Observer* (May 30, 1954) commented that a healthy trend in colonial policy was reflected in the Colonial Secretary's decisions that may help to restore confidence in Nyasaland. "Mr. Oliver Lyttelton has promised an increase in African representation on the Nyasaland Legislative Council. If he accepts the immediate target of parity between Africans and settlers, he will have gone some way towards meeting the modest demands of moderate opinion. His decision to end the tenant system on the large tea plantations and to insist on the productive use of all land in the Shire Highlands marks an important change in policy."

#### DEMANDS PUT FORWARD BY NYASSA LEADERS

Chiefs Chikowi, Mwase and Katumbi, Messrs. K. E. Mposa, E. A. Muwamba and H. K. Gondwe (Members of the Nyasaland Legislative Council) and C. R. Kumbikano and W. M. Chirwa (Members of the Federal Parliament), submitted a memorandum to Mr. Lyttelton on May 3, 1954. Among the recommendations were the following:—

*Land.*—"All land which is at present in the hands of European settlers and Missionaries for which no valid receipts or documentary legal proofs can be produced to indicate that such land was sold to them, should forthwith be returned to the original inhabitants as African Trust Land for occupation by Africans." There should be no further transfers of African Trust Land to Public Land "as once such land has been transferred, it no longer remains African Trust Land but Public Land on which members of any race can settle without the consent of the chief of the area."

*Constitution.*—The number of Africans should be increased from three to ten and the number of Europeans and Asians together should be ten: "there would thus be parity representation between Africans and members of the immigrant races which is the practice in Uganda Protectorate." Attention is drawn to the fact "that there is no African representative on the Executive Council and we would like to have an equal number of African and European unofficial members on that Council."<sup>1</sup>

*Method of Election.*—The present system by which African members of the Legislative Council are nominated by the Governor should be discontinued and members should be elected under a proper franchise. African members to the Executive Council should then be chosen by African members of the Legislative Council.

*Native Authorities.*—"It appears to us that in practice the Native Authority Ordinance has undermined the position of the chiefs in this country. According to African Customary Law, the chief is chosen by his people from a royal family under the law of inheritance and he cannot be removed except by them. He has full jurisdiction over his people to whom he is responsible . . . Since the introduction of the Ordinance conflict has arisen and in some cases District Commissioners have been made to act as Native Authorities. The question arises as to whether a chief has the same power once he has lost his Native Authorityship. Is he a Government agent or is he an agent of his people and responsible to them? If he has not got the same power as before, then we submit that the Native Authority Ordinance is contrary to African Law and Custom and as we are governed under indirect rule and are protected persons such a law is undesirable. We therefore demand that it should be repealed."

*Reinstatement of Deposed Chiefs.*—The reinstatement as Native Authorities of chiefs such as Inkosi Gomani<sup>2</sup> and others, "who lost their positions as a result of their resistance against Federation" is respectfully requested, "as there can be no happy relationship between African people and Government as long as the grievances about these chiefs exist in our minds."

*Salaries of Chiefs* should be raised. "It is ridiculous that the chiefs should be paid less money than clerks in their own courts."

*Education.*—"The introduction of an Age Limit (beyond which children cannot be accepted in primary schools) is detrimental to our progress . . . We maintain that there is no justice in introducing an age limit in a country where there is no free compulsory education. We feel very strongly that it should be abolished as the children who are refused admission to the existing schools tend to become vagabonds and criminals. We also want more Primary Schools in the villages . . . and to see African Headmasters in all African Senior Primary Schools, instead of Europeans." More Native Authority Schools, which should be under the control of the Native Authorities and not the Education Department, and more secondary schools are wanted. Adult Education should be started in all villages and towns, and more scholarships be given for African students to go to secondary and trade schools, as well as for University study overseas. "We deplore the system of encouraging African students to leave Universities

<sup>1</sup>Population of Nyasaland: 2,500,000 Africans, 4,000 Europeans, 5,000 Asians.

<sup>2</sup>See pamphlet "African Episode": Africa Bureau, 6d.

before they acquire their professional training, and the reluctance of the Government to grant them Scholarships for training overseas." Also, "we should like to know what arrangement Government is making to enable our children to qualify for admission to the Rhodesia University, as there is no Secondary School which can offer higher Cambridge Certificate in this country, and how soon the teaching of Latin will be started."

*Immigration.*—As Nyasaland is the smallest area of land, but has the largest African population in Central Africa, opposition is expressed to immigration of Europeans and Asians which may lead to much overcrowding and unhappy race relations.

*Federation.*—The continued opposition of "the Chiefs and African people of Nyasaland" to the imposed Federation is recorded. "We believe it is contrary to Article 73 of the United Nations Charter and that Britain has no right to transfer any of her responsibilities towards us to another state without our consent."

*Loyalty to the Crown.*—Loyalty to Her Majesty the Queen is expressed, and the wish that she should be asked to visit Nyasaland.

Other points call for equal representation of Africans and Europeans in all boards set up by the Government; for African Chairmen on District, Provincial and Protectorate Councils. (All African councils.) The repeal of the Police Regulations enacted for the emergency last September is requested, as the freedom of the African people to hold public meetings "is interfered with a great deal". The request for an impartial judicial Commission of Inquiry into the disturbances is renewed.

Salaries and conditions of service in the Civil Service should be equal for Africans and Europeans, and a Land Bank should be established to assist African farmers in obtaining loans to develop their farms.

#### SUBMISSION FROM WHITE SETTLERS

Two Settler organisations, the Convention of Associations, described by *East Africa & Rhodesia* (May 27, 1954) as "the most important non-official body in Nyasaland", and the recently formed Landowners Association, the membership of which controls more than half the freehold land in the Protectorate, in a memorandum described the Governor of Nyasaland's proposals to solve the land problem in Southern Nyasaland as "appeasement on a grand scale, appeasement that will certainly be followed by further demands from the Africans to meet which will ultimately be physically impossible."

They point to the rapid increase in African population in the Protectorate, from under 700,000 in 1901 to under 2,750,000 in 1954, and said 1 million were living in the Southern Province in 1945 of whom 688,000 were not of indigenous stock. The European community had increased after 1918, and were mainly occupied in agriculture. The acreage under tea increased from 4,800 acres in 1919 to 23,500 acres by 1950: under tung from 100 acres in 1932 to 18,100 in 1950.

"Clearing the land and planting and cultivation of crops called for labour that was non-existent in the district, and members of the Nguru tribe were encouraged to cross from

Portuguese East Africa", and gradually decided to settle in Nyasaland. The organisations contend that "these alien Nguru have no legal right or hereditary claim in land in Nyasaland." Pointing out that the density of population in the Southern Province is now 111 per square mile, as compared with 72 in the Central, and 36 in the Northern Province, they add, "It is our firm conviction that, judged on territorial basis, congestion does not exist." A scheme of development areas for "untouched areas of trust land", as opposed to "undeveloped areas of freehold estates" is proposed. Its implementation will require:

(1) That Government recognises that immediate steps must be taken to prevent the further destruction of the natural resources of the country.

(2) That Government recognises that the African through lack of training has by nature an irresponsible attitude towards the natural resources, and must adopt the policy that the European, by virtue of centuries of civilisation and accumulated scientific knowledge, knows the best way to develop the country, and is prepared, unpleasant as it may be, to adopt and enforce a policy best suited for the country as a whole.

(3) That Government recognises that the African of Nyasaland cannot be considered at present as being capable of directing the affairs of the country, and, this being so, the European must continue to govern without fear or favour and irrespective of race."

(4) That many problems confronting the country are due to the uncontrolled influx of Africans from a neighbouring territory.

(5) That this can most simply be checked by instituting a form of registration for all races.

#### DEBATE IN PARLIAMENT

Mr. James Johnson, M.P. (Labour) initiated a debate on economic development of Nyasaland in the House of Commons on April 15, 1954. Among the points he raised were:

The large number of able-bodied men who leave Nyasaland —something like 180,000 going as cheap labour to the Rand mines and to Southern Rhodesia. Development schemes "that might help to anchor this manpower in its own country" were needed.

The need to review the tenant system in the Southern Province, and for the Government to buy land owned by the white immigrant population which is not being fully utilised, and, under wise invigilation, let it out to African peasants: Mr. Johnson added: "I am told that the companies are selling unutilised land to white immigrant farmers. This is not a desirable step. Any unutilised land should be parcelled out to the Africans who live there."

Referring to education, Mr. Johnson said: "My general impression of education was not a particularly cheerful one. It is typical of the African educational scene. The schools are mainly mission schools. Perhaps less than half the child population, of children from five to eighteen, ever pass the doors of a school. There is little secondary education. There is enormous wastage in the lower classes in the schools. I understand that there are only two secondary schools in the Colony, with a total number of pupils of perhaps not more than 140 or 150, and amongst them very few girls indeed.

Referring to the tone of many speeches made by white

settlers in Nyasaland, Mr. Johnson said he was disturbed to find some people "who may have been tea planters in Assam and who have come to Nyasaland in the last few years, talking in arrogant terms of amalgamation.<sup>1</sup> We do not want any foolish talk of that kind to disturb African opinion. It seems to me to be foolhardy for 4,000 white people to think that they can dominate and control indefinitely 2½ million Africans, or that they should want to be away from the control of the House of Commons and away from the vigilance of Her Majesty's Secretary of State."

Mr. Johnson also asked for information concerning a letter from Mr. Manoah Chirwa, Federal M.P., which said: "We are greatly hampered in our freedom of speech and assembly. Last Sunday, March 21, we held a Congress meeting in Blantyre in the presence of two uniformed policemen taking notes. This is British democracy in Africa! Is it any wonder that our people are losing faith in British principles of justice and their form of Government? We have protested to the police, but can you get it raised in the House of Commons?"

He concluded: "I want to warn the Government seriously and sincerely that unless we get a better political climate and unless we attend to the land and other questions, I am convinced that the recent disturbances of Cholo will blow up again in the highlands . . . There is yet in Africa, it is my feeling, the idea that the European is an exotic and alien feature upon the African landscape. He has not been accepted as coming to stay by the black, indigenous people of Africa, and unless we work out a partnership together—the Bishop of Mombasa gives Kenya five years and some people give the Union two years—we shall call down upon our heads the curse of those who come after us."

In reply, the Minister of State for Colonial Affairs, Mr. Henry Hopkinson, spoke of increasing agricultural and forestry development taking place with the assistance of the British Government, and the expectation that federation would increase the rate of economic development. The investigation and exploitation of coal deposits was high on the list of priorities in the Governor's plans of development, and attention was being paid to the question of African wages. Agricultural wages in 1952, which include food allowance were: field labour 25s. to 30s.; overseers 30s. to 100s.; factory workers, 28s. to 40s. (per month). Bonuses were paid in the tea and tobacco industries.

Replying to the points raised on the land problem, Mr. Hopkinson said: "The most serious land problem arises in the congested area of the Southern Province, where most of the European estates lie. There we find a conflict of interest. There is no doubt that, when the estates were taken over, the land was sparsely inhabited, but since then there has been a natural increase in the population, as well as immigration from Portuguese East Africa, and the existence of the estates has attracted more labour. This has given rise to the kind of grievance which led to the riots in Nyasaland last summer and which we all wish to avoid in the future."

He also said that lack of funds for education had always been an anxiety; plans for technical education and training of young persons employed in Government departments and industry were under consideration. Those concerned had not failed to notice the need for some training between secondary school and university education.

<sup>1</sup>i.e., between Northern and Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

## Southern Rhodesia

### "STATE OF SOUTHERN RHODESIA"

THE PARLIAMENT of Southern Rhodesia has accepted without a division a motion that "The terms 'territory' and 'territorial' are not in keeping with the dignity and status of a self-governing colony, and the Colony should, in the future, be known as the 'State of Southern Rhodesia'."

In a contribution to the debate, in which he discussed the merits of amalgamation and federation, the Prime Minister, Mr. R. S. Garfield Todd, said: "It has been suggested that we are about to do away with the self-governing colony of Southern Rhodesia. I hold that our endeavour is to emancipate her and to allow Southern Rhodesia to have her full influence in Central Africa. I believe it would be to the benefit of Central Africa if this could take place, but I realise that it will not take place for some years, and I have suggested as a possible date ten years ahead." (*Federation Newsletter*, April 30, 1954.) Mr. Todd also said that with a proper development of resources there could be a high standard of living for all civilised people, whether black or white. On such a basis of belief barriers should fall and there should be a common Native policy throughout the Federation. They faced the position that Federation had been given for the definite purpose of keeping Native Affairs in the Northern Territories under the Colonial Secretary. "I do not believe this is in the best interests of the African people or of the development of Central Africa." (*The Times*, April 23, 1954.)

### A STEP BACKWARDS

This was the title of editorial comment in *The Times* (May 27, 1954), on the instruction from an officer of the Southern Rhodesian Government to the Rhodesian Guild of Journalists to amend its constitution so as to forbid the Guild to accept African members.<sup>2</sup> The comment pointed out that in fact this would exclude one man, Mr. M. M. Hove, who is a member also of the Federal Parliament, elected largely by European votes. "In Southern Rhodesia, a large element in European opinion believes that the law should allow Africans to join the existing European unions, provided they can satisfy the requirements of the unions on precisely the same terms as Europeans. These requirements, it would appear, are well met by Mr. Hove. The attitude of the Southern Rhodesian Government appears to be that, although Mr. Hove has been elected to a Parliament which makes laws for both Europeans and Africans, he should nevertheless be barred, as an African, from membership of a trade or professional association which embraces Europeans. This would seem to be a denial both of the principles laid down for the Federation and of the practice which is acceptable to the Southern Rhodesian journalists themselves. The crucial question is whether it is either right or expedient for Southern Rhodesia, especially now that Federation is a fact, to put back its clock in this field.

"This is only the most evident recent example of divided thoughts in Southern Rhodesia. There has been an example in the legal field, when a lawyer trained and qualified in an English Inn found it more than hard to follow his profession under

<sup>2</sup>Under the S.R. Industrial Conciliation Act it is not possible to register an African trade union and the Act provides only for European employees.

Southern Rhodesian rules—though he was professionally supported by his colleagues both here and there . . .”

The Guild of Journalists has announced that it would protest to the Government and other trade unionists in Southern Rhodesia have also protested.

#### AFRICANS IN URBAN AREAS

Editorial comment in the *African Weekly* (Salisbury, May 12, 1954) has described as “reminiscent of the position in South Africa” the system of leasehold which is being evolved for Africans in the urban areas of Southern Rhodesia. While appreciating the Government’s decision to appoint a Minister to deal with the problem of housing for all sections of the population, and the statement of the Minister of Trade and Industrial Development (Mr. G. Ellman-Brown), that African housing was more important than that of the European community, the editorial points out that the Minister is biased in favour of leasehold tenure, and against freehold tenure. To justify this, he has tried to convey the impression that leasehold tenure is more important and should be tried first. “He has quoted the latest figures from the statistician to prove that ‘less than thirty per cent of the European population of Salisbury enjoys security of tenure to the extent of freehold title.’ Accepting the validity of this information, we fail to see its bearing on the principle of opening the door to freehold title to the Africans.”

The article continues: “The country recently voted into power the Federal and the territorial Governments, believing that a change for the better in the affairs of the country would result, particularly in the native policy of the Colony. Partnership was one of the main planks on the platform of many politicians. Now here is a test for that slogan. No one wants to go and live side by side with the Europeans in their community, but we would like to see the same facilities extended to us in our areas.”

At the Municipal Association Conference of Southern Rhodesia a proposal that Natives should be allowed to have freehold tenure of land within local government areas was heavily defeated. Alderman L. B. Frereday of Salisbury said it would be dangerous to allow Natives to buy land in municipal areas, and the conference passed an alternative motion, which he moved, that it was neither necessary nor desirable to permit it. The Mayor of Bulawayo, Mr. J. M. MacDonald, said the determining factor in allowing freehold land depended on culture and civilisation. Natives who had contributed to development should have some small share in the country. The Minister of Native Affairs, Mr. P. B. Fletcher, said if freehold title were granted, he considered the African would be open to unscrupulous financing, as in the North for example. For the moment, he was opposed to such freedom of tenure, at least near the big industrial centres. (*Rhodesia Herald*, May 11, 1954.)

#### IDENTITY CARDS FOR SOUTHERN RHODESIA

The Southern Rhodesia Government intended to introduce a system under which every African male in the Colony, whether indigenous or migratory, would have to carry an identification card on which his photograph would be mounted, said Mr. P. B. Fletcher, the Minister of Native Affairs, according to a report in the journal *South Africa* (London, May 15, 1954). An official of the Native Affairs Department

would visit South Africa to investigate the costs of various methods of photographing the large number of people who would have to carry the identification cards.

#### INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION IN SOUTHERN RHODESIA

In an article describing the evolution of the African people of Southern Rhodesia from a tribal society existing in a peasant economy to an industrialised, urbanised money economy, *The Times* (May 4, 1954) pointed out that by 1980, it is expected that the majority of the African population “will be town-dwellers, as cut off from the rural subsistence economy they enjoy to-day as the average Londoner is cut off from the way of life of his forebears who may have come from the farms of Sussex or Suffolk.” The article concludes, “The task of building one nation out of two communities so very far apart in standards of living, of culture, of civilisation, and in backgrounds for generations of history will call for continuous, rational, and planned study which is already acknowledged as very necessary by political and industrial leaders. That is perhaps the most encouraging sign of all; there are people who are thinking not in terms of to-day or to-morrow, but of the day after to-morrow.”

#### REVIEW OF NATIVE POLICY

A new approach to the problem of Native housing in Southern Rhodesia by bringing it under the control of one Minister, and by treating the whole of Native housing as one problem, has been outlined by the Minister of Native Affairs, Mr. P. B. Fletcher, in Parliament on April 29. In the course of his speech he said that by ensuring that the European standard was maintained in Central Africa the average standard of the African would, within a comparatively short time, be much higher than the standard of the African in West Africa, where they had reverted to a purely African Nationalist Government . . . Many people were inclined to under-estimate the importance of the development of the African in rural areas.

“The Government regards the development of the rural areas as of the utmost importance, because if we build up a sound, progressive and contented rural population we will be building in the African society a backbone which will save us from the tragedies of other parts of Africa . . .” Besides the agricultural problems, there were those of Native health and education . . . But the biggest problem of all was housing. “I have thought from time to time,” said Mr. Fletcher, “that the only way to tackle this problem is for the Government to take over full responsibility for the housing of Natives.” (*Federal Newsletter*, May 19, 1954.)

#### AFRICAN ADVANCEMENT IN MINING

The President of the Chamber of Mines of Rhodesia, Mr. A. L. Gilmour, has said that the Chamber of Mines believes that the fears of European mineworkers regarding competition from Africans and the gradual elimination of European workers are exaggerated . . . The only matter of major importance considered by the National Industrial Council of the Mining Industry last year was the question of some advancement of Africans in the industry. The employers felt that in view of the progress being made by Africans generally some advancement in accordance with their capacity was inevitable and that they should be given the opportunity to improve themselves . . .

"Africans must be made more efficient to increase their contribution to the economy of the Colony and so improve their standard of life, but care must be taken that this advancement urge does not get out of hand."

It was realised that the position of the European in industry had to be safeguarded. "It must be ensured that any methods adopted to meet the legitimate aspirations of Africans do not conflict with the interests of the Europeans . . . We are satisfied that as far as the mining industry is concerned, the Africans have not yet reached a stage that justifies the formation of trade unions, but we recognise that provision should be made for some form of association in the urban areas over which adequate control can be exercised for the benefit of all concerned." (*Federation Newsletter*, May 19, 1954.)

#### THE INTERRACIAL ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHERN RHODESIA

The Interracial Association of Southern Rhodesia has the following aims:-

(a) To provide a means whereby people in Southern Rhodesia, irrespective of race, creed or colour, may work together for the purpose of promoting the national welfare;

(b) To examine the problems of the country's development and to work out solutions based on: (i) the ultimate aim that fullness of life, both spiritual and material, shall be available to all its inhabitants; and (ii) the means of utilising fully the capacity of each individual to contribute, irrespective of race, creed or colour;

(c) To define and establish common goals in the development of Southern Rhodesia;

(d) To work for the acceptance of the Association's principles and findings by peaceful and constructive means;

(e) To work for the evolution ultimately of an integrated society, in which there will be no differentiation between people on grounds of race or colour, with humanity and the good of mankind as the common aim.

A quarterly journal *Concord*<sup>1</sup> is published by the Association, and its first issue carries messages of welcome from Mr. Peter Abrahams, Dr. Ralph Bunche, Mr. Alan Paton, and the First Indian Governor-General of India, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, as well as Mr. Garfield Todd, Dr. Alexander Scott, Independent Member of the Federal Parliament and founder and director of the *Central African Post*, Sir Robert Tredgold, Acting Governor of Southern Rhodesia, Mr. D. L. Yamba, Northern Rhodesian Member of the Federal Parliament, Mr. W. M. Chirwa, and Rev. Andrew Doig, Nyasaland Members of the Federal Parliament.

## Northern Rhodesia

#### BILL TO AMEND PENAL CODE

THE MOST important Bill to come before the newly constituted Legislative Council of Northern Rhodesia, according to the *Central African Post* (April 9, 1954), is an amendment to the Penal Code "aimed at preventing a recurrence of the picketing<sup>2</sup> of butchers' shops which lasted for seven weeks in Lusaka earlier

<sup>1</sup>S.R. Interracial Association, 7/8 Kingsway House, Kingsway/Speke Avenue, Salisbury. Price 1s.

<sup>2</sup>See DIGEST, Vol. I, No. 14.

in the year. The Bill makes it an offence to 'watch or beset any place with a view to preventing persons from doing any acts thereat which they are lawfully entitled to do'."

As a result of the support given to the Bill by the two European members for African interests, Mr. John Moffat and Mr. Harry Franklin, African leaders in Broken Hill have told the four African members of the Legislative Council and Mr. Mateyo Kakumbi (member of the Federal Parliament) "that the African people had no confidence in the two European members for African interests and it was high time the Government altered the system whereby Europeans were nominated to represent African interests." All African members of the Legislative Council spoke and voted against the Bill and the European members, while sympathising with the African point of view, supported it because it was in the public interests and should go through. (*The African Eagle*, Lusaka, May 11, 1954.)

## The Federation

#### CLASH OF OPINION

THERE HAS been a sharp difference of opinion between Northern Rhodesia and Southern Rhodesia as to the merits of giving priority to the Kafue (Northern Rhodesia) power scheme over the larger but more costly Kariba (Southern Rhodesia) scheme. The Federal Parliament decided that the former should have priority, mainly because the Federation is greatly dependent on the copper mining industry of Northern Rhodesia. The Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, Mr. Garfield Todd, had said that the Southern Rhodesian Government considered the Kariba project should still be tackled first and suggested that new facts were available which might influence the earlier decision in favour of the Kafue scheme. This brought a rebuke from the acting Federal Prime Minister, Sir Roy Welensky, who said that nothing had been brought to the notice of the Federal Government that could influence it to change its first decision. Dr. Alexander Scott, the only Independent in the Federal Parliament, addressed this warning to Southern Rhodesians: "We are not so completely federated that we cannot call a halt to the process and demand a reconsideration of the whole matter." A similar statement was made by Mr. E. W. Sergeant, member of the Legislative Council of Northern Rhodesia. (*The Times*, May 10, 1954.)

The *Central African Post* (April 2, 1954) reported that growing concern is being expressed by civil servants throughout Northern Rhodesia about the haste with which local departments and officials are being engulfed by the Federal Government. Anxiety has been expressed about the paucity of definite information about the new Federal terms of service, and the speed with which departments are being taken over.

#### THE CENTRAL AFRICAN UNIVERSITY

Conditions governing the establishment of the Rhodesia University College were announced by the Inaugural Board of the University after consultation with the British Government and all the Governments in the Federation, the Inter-University Council and London University Authorities. "A basic principle in the planning of the site, buildings and facilities will be that there should be no discrimination on racial

grounds between categories for students, for example in the location on the site of halls of residence for African students at a greater distance from the centre of the University than those for Europeans . . . The Senate of London University has agreed that it will be prepared to accept the college into special relationship subject to the receipt of information satisfactory to the university in regard to the constitution and proposed development of the college."

The faculties of arts and science will be established first, it is hoped by March 1956, and thereafter, as soon as possible, faculties of agriculture and medicine.

The entrance requirements to the University are described in a statement issued by the Board on April 5: Students must be in possession of both the Cambridge Overseas School Certificate, including passes with credit in English, a foreign language (which may be an African language), mathematics or a science subject, and the Cambridge Higher School Certificate. A General Certificate of Education which would be accepted by the University of London would be regarded as the equivalent of the above . . . For entry to the Faculty of Arts, students must have passed in Latin and in a language other than English at least credit standard in the Cambridge School Certificate examination. For entrance to the Faculty of Science, students must have the same qualifications in mathematics . . . The Board is at present applying to the University of London for the concession to substitute French for Latin. (*Federation Newsletter*, April 14, 1954.)

#### FEDERATION'S FIRST AFRICAN BARRISTER

Mr. H. W. Chitepo, who was called to the Bar in the Middle Temple in London on May 23, 1953, has been admitted to the Southern Rhodesia Bar in the High Court on April 29. The proceedings took place in the civil court which was crowded with Africans.

#### STUDY OF RACIALISM IN CENTRAL AFRICA

Among grants to British organisations announced recently by the Rockefeller Foundation of New York was one of £10,500 to the Royal Institute of International Affairs to study racial conflicts in Africa. The Institute, assisted by this grant, is undertaking a three-year study of racialism in the territories of the Federation. Under the supervision of Mr. P. Mason, director of studies on race relations, the area will be studied as the meeting place between the ideas of apartheid and partnership. (*South Africa*, May 1, 1954.)

## EAST AFRICA Kenya

#### PLAN FOR AFRICAN AGRICULTURE

A FIVE-YEAR plan to intensify African agricultural developments throughout Kenya is contained in a comprehensive report drawn up by Mr. R. J. M. Swynnerton, Assistant Director of Agriculture, and accepted in principle by the Government of Kenya. Development will be financed mainly from the £5 million British Loan already announced. The plan is roughly an acceleration and expansion of the present policy

applied to African agriculture since 1946 and lays great stress on the large-scale development of African-grown cash crops in the fertile areas. It recommends spending over £1 million on developing coffee, tea, sisal and fruit in African areas, increasing the acreages in many cases, and in some instances introducing the crops to new areas. There will also be an increase in rice and sugar-cane acreages. The plan has been drafted against the background of correct land use in each of the different ecological areas upon which considerable research has already been done by senior officers of the Agricultural Department. Putting the plan into effect will result in a marked increase in the carrying capacity of the land, both for human beings and for stock. It will mean raising the surplus output of some 60,000 families in the more fertile and densely-populated parts of Kenya from around £10 a year to £100 or more apiece. This will benefit almost three-fifths of the African population. In the more arid areas the plan aims at the improvement of livestock and here it is hoped to raise the value of some 650,000 head of cattle from about £2 apiece to £10 or even £15 each.

A large increase in staff will be necessary: recruitment of some 150 European agricultural experts has begun in England. Many trained Africans will also be required and the plan provides for increased training facilities. As irrigation is alien to Kenya, there is the need to train and recruit experienced staff and the plan suggests that India would be the best place for training the European staff.

The plan contains no spectacular schemes for land resettlement and stresses that suitable areas for irrigation and swamp reclamation are strictly limited. For instance, present-day costs for irrigating some 180,000 acres of the Northern Province from the Tana River have risen to between £20 and £30 million.

Reclamation and resettlement schemes provided for will assist towards absorbing large numbers of Kikuyu displaced from their employment because of the Emergency. By certain agricultural improvements in the Kikuyu Land Unit itself through consolidation of holdings, planned farming, cash crop development, supplemented by opening up some limited irrigable areas and the little used high bracken zone, a general increase of Kikuyu productivity will be brought about. The report stresses, however, that this is only one facet of the plan and the money to be spent on work in the Kikuyu areas will be considerably less than the funds allocated to other African areas.

Although the plan is for the next five years, it will not of course come to a stop at the end of that period. On the contrary, technical, financial and material support must continue afterwards, but in return for the investment Kenya will see a good prospect of added strength to its economy and revenues.

The biggest single item will be the big increase in cash crops and within the next decade or two the drive should make the African farmer Kenya's major producer of coffee, pyrethrum and pineapples, says Mr. Swynnerton. (Release from the Public Relations Office of the Colony and Protectorate of Kenya, May 20, 1954.)

#### THE MAU MAU'S UNEXPECTED ENEMY

*The Reader's Digest* (International edition, May, 1954, British edition, June, 1954) contains an article by Stanley High describing "the little-known story of the chief resisters to

terrorism in Kenya". In the course of the article, Mr. High described how African Christians, who number less than one-third of the Kikuyu tribe "bore the brunt" of Mau Mau attacks. He added: "It is not because they are free of grievances, or because they lack conviction that Africans should have a larger, fairer share in Kenya's future, that so many native Christians have stood fast against the Mau Mau. 'These are a literal-minded people,' said a white Kenyan, 'and they take their religion literally. To them the issue was plain: the Mau Maus preach hate and practise violence; Christ preached and practised love. Long before we knew the nature of this thing, they knew and had made their choice.' " The resistance of non-Christians who have joined in the Kikuyu Home Guard, now numbering 20,000 members who serve without pay, is also described: "The loyalty and heroism of the Home Guard and the native police give strength to the belief of Kenya authorities that final wiping out of the Mau Mau will be largely accomplished by the Africans themselves.

"Because of Kikuyu loyalty and resistance there is evidence of a new spirit among many of Kenya's white toward the native population. White arrogance has not been eliminated, and the doors of opportunity for the natives have not yet been opened very far. But a change seems in the making . . ." The article eloquently describes the courage and faith of Kenya's African Christians.

#### VIEWS OF KENYA'S COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF

Sir George Erskine, Commander-in-Chief, East Africa, in a radio interview in Nairobi, said that the Kikuyu Guards (the tribal resistance movement) had done a great deal, and he had the greatest admiration for chiefs, headmen and many other African Government servants. "But they are at present up against the mass of Kikuyu public opinion which is backed by Mau Mau force, the Mau Mau oath, and the murderer. It is mainly the African who can change this public opinion, but he needs our help and he will get it." General Erskine said he had an over-all plan which would unfold itself gradually. It was designed to make life increasingly unpleasant for those who continued to be active or passive supporters of Mau Mau. (Kenya Government Information News.)

#### SPREAD OF MAU MAU TO KAMBA

Douglas Brown, Special Correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph* (May 14, 1954) reported: "There is only one question being asked in Kenya to-day: will the Mau Mau infection spread seriously from the Kikuyu to the Kamba tribe?" At a press conference, Colonel Arthur Young, the recently appointed Commissioner of Police, said: "All is not well in the Kamba country and we are watching it very carefully indeed. More than that I would not like to say at present." A large-scale police check-up has begun, and Mr. Brown reported that already considerable successes had been recorded.

He added: "The Kamba, who number 400,000, form the backbone of the Regular Army and police in Kenya . . . If ever it should come about that every Kamba was suspected of having taken the Mau Mau oath just as every Kikuyu is suspected to-day, the gravest possible situation would have arisen . . . It is now admitted that authorities have been worried about the moral health of the Kamba for the past nine months. It was started by the discovery of extensive oath-taking ceremonies." Kamba who had been screened last year

revealed that Kikuyu Mau Mau leaders were working as "missionaries" throughout the vast Kamba territory. "They had established a complete skeleton of an autonomous Kamba Mau Mau organisation," but "the process is still fortunately in its early stages. The police have the advantage of observing the Kamba infection in its primary phases."

#### DISCUSSIONS IN PARLIAMENT

With regard to the failure of the surrender talks,<sup>1</sup> about which conflicting accounts had been published in the press in Britain and America, Mr. Richard Stokes, M.P. (Labour) in the House of Commons said: "The Minister will be aware that 1,500 or so people were on the point of surrender when, unfortunately, a day or two before there was an action in the neighbourhood with the result that they again dispersed. Is the Minister satisfied that sufficient use has been made of loudspeakers over the forest to convince those people that the incident on April 7 had nothing whatever to do with them, and that their surrender is expected and is still desirable under the terms then proposed?"

The Minister of State for the Colonies, Mr. Henry Hopkinson, replied that the point would be brought to the notice of the authorities. "The particular plan for general mass surrender—the 'General' China plan, as it was called—has been dropped, but the arrangements for the surrender of individuals under the original plan of last August will continue."

Up to April 10, Mr. Hopkinson reported that arrests in connection with Mau Mau numbered 191,587, of whom 35,380 were released after preliminary inquiry, 156,207 were screened, and 78,413 released after screening. Governor's detention orders numbered 1,801.

In reply to questions on May 12, 1954, the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Lyttelton, said that in Operation "Anvil" which made a sweep of Nairobi "some 30,000 persons were picked up for examination, of which about 19,000 have been detained for further screening. In addition, 4,500 have been detained on individual detention orders. 9,200 dependent women and children have been repatriated to the reserves. The operation has been most successful . . . There has been a spectacular reduction in crime, particularly violent crime, and the law-abiding African population has been heartened and reassured." Mr. Lyttelton also said that loudspeaker appeals from aeroplanes had been intensified to let those people who were about to surrender in the forest know that the guarantees already given were still valid. He said "the terms upon which terrorists can surrender have been very widely spread. We can only hope for the best."

Members of the House of Commons have several times put questions concerning the position in the reserves and the danger of overcrowding there. On May 12, Mr. James Griffiths, M.P. (Labour) asked: "Will the Minister call for a report whether the time has not come to stop sending large masses of Africans back to the reserves, which are already grossly overcrowded?" Mr. Lyttelton replied that "a much closer administration in the reserves" had been instituted, and that "the other outlet will be in bringing into cultivation some of the bracken areas, and so forth."

Mrs. Irene White, M.P. (Labour) asked if the authorities were aware of the hardship caused to families in Kenya when

<sup>1</sup>See DIGEST, Vol. II, No. 1.

the breadwinner was detained indefinitely, and what steps were being taken to deal with a problem which was causing bitterness among those concerned? In reply Mr. Hopkinson said they were "not aware of any general hardship among families of detained persons, but there are arrangements for relief to be given in cases of need."

Mr. James Johnson, M.P. (Labour) asked (May 19, 1954) whether the Kikuyu men, women and children who were ordered to leave Dagoretti<sup>1</sup> have been sent into the Kikuyu Reserve. Mr. Hopkinson replied that they had. Mr. James Griffiths again stressed the urgency of this matter, "as the information which we have is that the numbers of people sent back to the reserves are leading to chronic overcrowding and all that follows from that."

#### PRESS COMMENT IN BRITAIN

Writing in *The Spectator* (May 28, 1954) Dr. Jane Meiklejohn, pointing to the advance in technique shown in Operation "Anvil" in Nairobi said it "gives hope at last that the inhabitants can be delivered from the terror that has oppressed them." After a year of unsuccessful attempts to suppress Mau Mau gangs that were terrorising the African and Asian population of some parts of Nairobi: attempts that frequently make the life of the ordinary peaceable Kikuyu almost unbearable and had a negligible effect upon the Mau Mau: Operation "Anvil" seemed to have been effective.

"The differences in technique which produced this success are several," she wrote. "The African locations . . . were completely cordoned off, and everyone in them detained. So far a familiar pattern was followed; but the screening was done at leisure, and in fact is still going on. The men who are found to be innocent are being released, and allowed to go back to their own homes. The guilty are being detected, and it is noticeable that the surviving victims of the gangsters are prepared to give evidence against them. Somehow the new police régime has managed to assure these people that they will be protected, and that they will be believed even though they are Kikuyu. The operation seems to have been carried out with sensible humanity and an absolute minimum of violence . . . Respect for private property of Kikuyu is a very welcome new feature of 'Anvil'.

"The only thing which is disquieting is that a large number of women and children, in fact about 9,000 have been sent back to the Kikuyu Reserve. Nobody seems to have said what is going to happen when they get there, either to them or to those in the reserve already . . . It is of course exceedingly difficult for the authorities to deal with the Kikuyu women: Kikuyu men are relatively accessible, as most of them speak some Swahili and many speak English, but the language barrier cuts off completely the white man who doesn't speak Kikuyu from the women who speak nothing else. Will the children be able to go to school? Many Kikuyu children are very clever and very eager to learn. And will some families ever be re-united, if the father is in prison and the rest of them miles away lost in the enormous crowd of the Kikuyu Reserve?"

In the *Sunday Times* (May 9, 1954) Mrs. Elizabeth Nicholas, who visited East Africa two months ago, wrote: "Separated now from East Africa by several thousand miles, I see it as

<sup>1</sup>An African township near Nairobi where collective punishment measures were enforced when the inhabitants failed to give information about Mau Mau known to be living there.

sad, but not inexplicable, that the white man and the black should in Kenya be locked together in bitter enmity, whereas in Zanzibar four races—Arabs, Europeans, Africans and Asians—live together in tolerable amiability and accord. For the heart of the matter in Kenya, as in Central Africa and the Union, is of a white element settling down to send roots deep into the African earth. It has yet to be proved that such a community can exist side by side with an indigenous African population in an atmosphere of peace and goodwill. And the future of Kenya, at least, is dependent on the creation of such conditions . . . Looking back, I can remember Kenya only with sadness. It is the most beautiful of the four territories and in the White Highlands everything is of a rich and abundant promise; and everywhere there are rank and evil weeds, threatening to wrench life itself from its hold in the prodigal red earth.

"Clearly, to my mind, it is the special features of the white settler history that have brought this to be; and that does not mean I under-estimate the immense work the settler has done, the benefits he has conferred. Far from it; but in the light of cold logic, I believe that the white man will have to come to terms with the African, or be dispossessed. For 40,000 people cannot, through all eternity, hold out against 5 million."

#### REPORT ON INDIAN OPINION IN KENYA<sup>2</sup>

A correspondent writes from Kenya that: Indian opinion, contrary to the general impression, is strangely a-political. A considerable section of Indians is employed in the Railways and the Civil Service and is, in consequence, required by law to keep clear of politics. Another considerable section is so zealously engaged in commerce that it regards any time spent out of commercial life as unprofitably spent. This leaves the professions—the lawyers and doctors and architects—most of whom make too much money to-day to have a care for tomorrow.

This is the real reason for the fact that Mr. Oliver Lyttelton's constitutional proposals<sup>3</sup> found such an easy passage through the community. The dissidents would like to know: how could the Indians accept a plan which the Africans, as an organisation, had rejected? Answer: The African stand did not amount to a rejection. How could the Indians agree to a ten-year standstill on such vital questions as land and common roll? Answer: The standstill was not binding on the community, only on the ministers who accepted office.

But an important section of the community continues to hold firmly to the belief that the proposals cannot possibly succeed in bringing either the long-range peace and harmony which Kenya so sincerely longs for, or the immediate security and stability of Government which she so desperately needs. It is clear beyond question that the experiment does not carry the enthusiasm of the African people as such; on which alone must rest its ultimate fate. Unless the Africans, as a people, are attracted by the political prospect that is offered to them, the end of the Emergency cannot be drawn an inch nearer. Indeed, recent events have shown that Mau Mau has been spreading out not only to the hitherto untouched areas of the Kamba and the Coast, but even as far afield as Tanganyika, where an Emergency has had to be declared in certain parts.

<sup>2</sup>The Editor of the DIGEST does not necessarily endorse the views of this correspondent, but, as he is a person of considerable standing in the Kenya Asian community, feels that his views have a particular interest.

<sup>3</sup>See DIGEST, Vol. II, No. 1.

And unless Mau Mau is ended quickly, governmental stability and public security must remain empty dreams.

Politically-minded Indians in Kenya are firmly convinced that the Lyttelton proposals, under which the new Council of Ministers has been established, is more than unjust to the Africans and can never, of themselves, help to win them over.

But apart from being inequitable, the proposals also seem clumsy and unworkable to the Indians. Take the case of the "unofficial" Ministers. On the one hand they form part of a multi-racial Government, in which their conduct is governed by the concept of collective responsibility—which means that they are equally responsible to all the races and communities who have made Kenya their home. On the other hand, they are still the elected representatives of their constituents, who vote on rigidly racial lines—which means that they cannot retain the confidence of their voters unless they work exclusively for the advancement of their own particular race.

Nor is the "unofficial" Ministers' governmental conduct alone in question; the dilemma extends to their public life, where they must continue to be prominent, conspicuous and vigorous in their racial constituencies, or they will fall out of the public eye and reduce their chances in the next election!

For the solitary Indian Minister (without portfolio) the dilemma is imminent; because the all-Kenya open session of the Kenya Indian Congress takes place on July 31 and he must make up his mind right away as to how much or less prominent a part he must play there. If he has any intention at all of being returned again to the Legislative Council, he cannot ignore the Congress—and the next election is likely to be particularly stiff to fight, for the stakes are now high.

There are two other rocks on which, from the Indian standpoint, the ship of the new Government can founder. The first of these concerns a new Immigration Ordinance which is rumoured to be in preparation. According to reliable sources, the Ordinance aims at cutting Indian immigration to the bone, and encouraging large-scale European immigration at the same time—a policy which the Congress could never countenance for a moment, and which would result in the Indian Minister resigning at once from the Government.

The other rock is the possibility—strongly rumoured in usually well-informed circles at the moment—that when, shortly, Major Cavendish-Bentinck retires as Minister for Agriculture, Mr. Michael Blundell, who now holds no portfolio, will take over that Ministry. If that happens, Indians—and Africans—will not help feeling that the spirit of even the Lyttelton proposals has been subverted; for this would give the Settlers three, instead of two, portfolios. The resultant storm might prove too furious for the Elected Members to control.

Early this month, *The Times* expressed "anxiety" at the number of executions of Africans taking place in Kenya.

Pointing out that 370 Africans had been hanged in the Colony, the paper commented, "Nobody would wish murderers or the administrators of vile oaths binding others to murder, to be spared. But the number of offences bearing the death penalty has been considerably increased . . . Obviously in some cases these offences originate from a motive which can only be murderous; but it is possible also for them to be largely technical. Are the authorities always drawing this

distinction? If they are not, they would be building up, in the name of Britain, a terrible legacy of hatred and bitterness, for while deeds done in hot blood may be forgotten, the cold processes of the law are not to be, in Africa any more than in Europe."

Within four days of the date on which this warning was published, twenty more Africans were hanged in Nairobi, and another thirteen were hanged ten days later.

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Two cases which have been tried in Kenya this month typify the sort of arrogant racial attitude which does so much to offset the good work that many people of goodwill put in, in the cause of better race relations.

The first of these cases concerned a European who slapped an African in a Nairobi main street, because the African had refused to push his car.

The European was fined £5.

In the other case, a European woman slapped an African policeman. She was also similarly fined in a lower court.

#### REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON AFRICAN WAGES<sup>1</sup>

A committee set up by the Governor of Kenya to consider the adequacy of African wages, the present method of calculating the statutory minimum wage, and the possibility of its application to rural areas has published its report. It notes the detrimental effect of the migrant labour system, and states "the essential prerequisite for the creation of an effective African labour force is the stabilisation of African labour and the severance of its ties with the reserves . . . Most of the recommendations which we shall make are based on the assumption that the need for the stabilisation of African labour is accepted and that the Government of the Colony is prepared to regard such development as a major aim of its economic and social policy."

A sample survey of African wages in urban areas revealed that approximately half as much again as that allowed for in the present minimum wage formula was being spent on food and "that a large proportion of workers had little or nothing to eat for the last two or three days of the month." Referring to adequacy in relation to work performed, the Committee point out that the more progressive industrial and commercial undertakings pay wages considerably higher than the statutory minimum presumably due to an appreciation by managements that their African unskilled labourers are worth substantially more than the statutory minimum wage.

If the Committee's proposals for recalculating an adequate "bachelor" wage were accepted, the effect in Nairobi would be an increase from Sh. 59/50 to Sh. 81/00, to commence on January 1, 1955. Referring to the insufficiency of wages at present for any African man with a dependent family, and the therefore deplorable conditions under which many families are living in urban areas the Committee recommends immediate plans for changing the basis of the statutory minimum wage from one which takes account only of the needs of a single man to one based on the needs of a family unit; to be assessed at two and a half times the basic "bachelor" wage; the transition to take place over a period of ten years starting from January 1, 1956. The payment of this wage would be subject to certain age and service qualifications.

<sup>1</sup>Government Printer Nairobi. 5s.

The Committee does not feel it is practical to recommend application of minimum wage orders to rural areas, but are of the opinion that between Sh. 50 and Sh. 55 exclusive of housing should be the minimum for contract workers. The report continues: "The resident labour's total income is higher than that of other agricultural workers. We cannot help but feel, however, that a system which compels a worker to rely, for the satisfaction of many of his essential needs, upon income derived from the use of his employer's land must, in the long run, be detrimental to both the worker's own interests and those of his employer."

In the Committee's view their proposals will put considerable strain on the Colony's industries, and will necessitate certain measures such as increased production, the passing on of increased labour costs to the consumer and the curtailment of profits. They are of the opinion that it is within the power of the majority of the Colony's industry to offset this strain, but consider increased costs to the consumer the chief danger threatening their intention to increase the African's purchasing power and to give him stability in his urban surroundings.

"But reading His Excellency's reply to our report to the Great Lukiko, we feel there are such discrepancies between what we were made to expect by the Secretary of State and the Governor in London and what the Governor has in his mind now. For instance, in London we were given to understand that the expert was coming to help us to disentangle constitutional and economic difficulties of Buganda, in particular, and Uganda generally, as a first step towards self-government. That this was so is confirmed by the fact that Legislative Council would be discussed as would also be the problems of Unitary and Federal forms of government in view of the fact that Uganda was going to be developed as an African State. The Governor seems to deny this now.

"We thought the discussions were going to be conducted in a round-table conference, with the expert first and with the Governor afterwards. But His Excellency's high-handedness now and his manner of dictating to the Great Lukiko point to something different from the atmosphere of mutual discussion and confidence that we had been led to expect. His reply to our report reveals also that the terms of reference under which the expert and the Committee are going to work are so vague as to render different interpretations possible."

In a second letter, they added: "In his reply to the delegates' report, His Excellency said: 'The belief expressed by the delegates in paragraph 30 of the report that Mutesa II will return as Kabaka is quite without foundation . . .' Here we would like to draw His Excellency's attention to the fact that many people in this world allege that the belief in the existence of God is without foundation, but that allegation does neither deter those who believe in it nor affect in any way the existence of God. We stick to our belief that the Kabaka will return whether His Excellency sees the basis of this belief or not. His Excellency's observation that the Lukiko's resolution not to elect another Kabaka was unwise is in our view quite unneeded."

Professor Sir Keith Hancock subsequently wrote to Sir Andrew Cohen saying: "A renewal and strengthening of confidence is what I need now and I do not doubt that the Baganda, you and everybody else concerned . . . feel the same need." He described the procedure he proposes to follow in his consultations with the Baganda constitutional committee, and added, "I have full confidence that we shall find good, workable rules of discussion."

With regard to his terms of reference, Sir Keith said he understood that the Colonial Secretary's statement on February 23<sup>2</sup> gives "authority to the representatives of the Baganda and me to attempt a thorough tidying up of the constitutional system of Buganda, both as regards its internal structure and the distribution of powers, and also as regards the position of Buganda as a constituent part of the Protectorate." Concerning "the present position of Kabaka Mutesa II and the events leading up to his deportation" Sir Keith said, "Since I am specifically enjoined to study the future relationship between the Kabakaship, the Ministers and the Great Lukiko, I must naturally bear these events in mind in so far as they illustrate a basic constitutional problem. However, the past and current controversies associated with these events are beyond the scope of the constitutional task assigned to me." Although the permanent constitution of the whole Protectorate was a task for a later time and different persons, questions concerning the

## Uganda

### THE GOVERNOR'S VETO AND LUKIKO RESIGNATIONS

AS REPORTED in the last issue of the AFRICA DIGEST, the Governor of Uganda, Sir Andrew Cohen, vetoed two nominees of the Lukiko (Parliament) of Buganda, to take part in discussions with Sir Keith Hancock, the constitutional expert invited to visit Uganda. The Governor had also said that the Lukiko delegation which had visited London misled the Lukiko in making its report. On April 20, 1954, three members of the Lukiko delegation that recently visited Britain,<sup>1</sup> Messrs. E. M. K. Mulira, T. A. K. Makumbi and A. K. Kironde, resigned from the committee chosen to meet Sir Keith and gave the following reasons in their letters to the Katikkiro (Prime Minister):

"Because of the way the Secretary of State and the Governor described the advantages of having such an expert, and by reason of the charming personality of Professor Hancock and the advice received from friends of Uganda in Britain, we accepted the expert to come out and investigate the troubles at the spot. We made it plain, however, to the Secretary of State and to Sir Andrew Cohen, the Governor, that our acceptance of the expert did not mean the end of our fight for the restoration of the Kabaka. Our main mission was the restoration of the Kabaka and not the reforms. It was now left to us to popularise the idea of the expert generally to our people, who were entirely opposed to a one-man commission, as they called it. It was a great measure of success on our part, we thought, that we convinced both the leaders of the Uganda National Congress, who had already sent to the Secretary of State their protest against the expert and a request for a Royal Commission, and the members of the Great Lukiko, who were equally opposed to the expert . . . In the end, as a result of our explanation to the Lukiko and hard work before the Lukiko Meeting, the Lukiko voted in favour of the expert.

<sup>1</sup>See DIGESTS, Vol. I, No. 14, Vol. II, No. 1.

\*See DIGEST, Vol. I, No. 14.

Legislative Council in relation to Buganda "are bound to come up in our discussions." The federal form of membership of Uganda which has been publicly advocated as the appropriate solution for Buganda will probably arise and have to be examined, amongst other matters of principle vitally concerning the Protectorate as a whole.

Sir Keith would, within the limitations of the time at his disposal, be available for consultation with the African Governments of Bunyoro, Toro and Ankole. He said he would wish to keep in touch with the Governor personally, and with official experts, and would probably wish from time to time to invite one or other of these experts to join his discussions with the Lukiko Committee. In conclusion he said the mission would not in his view make sense "unless it does something immediate and practical to open the road" towards the realisation of the long-term objectives outlined by the Secretary of State with regard to the methods, purposes and consequences of economic development in Uganda, and the political future of Uganda as a primarily African and self-governing state.

The Governor said that he readily agreed with Professor Hancock; and the three Lukiko delegates wrote to Sir Keith to say that they also agreed.

As a result of further intervention by Sir Keith Hancock, who wrote to the Governor suggesting that he withdraw his opposition to Dr. Kalibala's membership of the Lukiko Committee, and to Mr. Kironde, suggesting that the three delegates should at the same time withdraw their resignation, a compromise was reached. On May 20, the Governor had a meeting with Mr. Kironde and Mr. Makumbi in the presence of the Regents and Resident of Buganda. Mr. Mulira, who had come to London as Lukiko adviser to the Kabaka, had interviews with Sir Keith Hancock. An official announcement issued as a result states: "Both the Governor and Mr. Kironde, Mr. Mulira and Mr. Makumbi had publicly expressed complete agreement with Professor Hancock's published letter of April 28 giving his interpretation of his terms of reference and describing the procedure which he proposes to follow in his consultations. The meeting agreed that it was the duty of all concerned to do everything possible to smooth the way for Professor Hancock's consultations." (*The Times*, May 28.)

#### BAGANDA PRESS STATEMENTS IN LONDON

Mr. I. K. Musazi, president of the Uganda National Congress and Federation of Uganda African Farmers, who is visiting Britain for a month "to impress upon the British people the full implication of the crisis now facing Uganda", gave a press conference in the House of Commons (May 6, 1954), in the course of which he described how the loyalty of the Baganda to the Kabaka "is woven into every fabric of our social framework—our culture, our economy, our religion, our politics . . ." Speaking of the rude shock, and the anger caused by the exiling of the Kabaka, he added: "There is peace and calm in Uganda, and I am thankful that this is so; indeed the Uganda National Congress has repeatedly appealed to the people to stay peaceful. But I know my people, and we would be deluding ourselves if we imagined that this calmness would endure indefinitely. It will not. It will not, because the whole foundation of the British rule in Uganda, namely, British justice, stands at stake; the confidence of the people has oozed, and national pride has been pricked to the quick."

He said that, disappointed in the failure of the Government

to retrieve the false step and restore trust, his people "would be obliged to find justice by positive action". He described the boycott on commodities<sup>1</sup> other than food and medicine, which the Congress had called for. In this way they would challenge the Deportation Ordinance of 1902 "which is the hammer used by the Governor to strike on the head of Ugandans (irrespective of rank) who criticise the Government." It would be tragic, he added, if the fund of goodwill that had existed between Uganda and Britain "were to be thrown away through an act of political and religious short-sightedness."

Mr. E. M. K. Mulira, on his arrival in London as Lukiko adviser to the Kabaka, described to the press (May 18, 1954) the unity of the people of Buganda behind the Kabaka, and said that recently "the Synod of the Church of Uganda has unanimously supported the resolution of the Diocesan Council, which is to be sent to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, requesting him to restore the Kabaka as soon as possible." Also, "the African Cultural Society has passed a resolution expressing their deep grief at the continued absence of their Patron, the Kabaka, 'who is the symbol of the richness and also the focus of their African culture'."

Mr. Mulira said "The happy racial relationships which have for many years been the pride of Uganda have been ruined. To-day Africans will not mix with Europeans . . . Who is the loser in all this? The Baganda have lost their king. What have the British gained? Instead of spontaneous loyalty—resentment. Instead of good faith in the British sense of justice and integrity—loss of confidence . . . Instead of the growing influence of the Anglican Church—a sense of disappointment and a loss of attendance as never before experienced. Instead of Sir Andrew Cohen achieving his aim in Uganda and perhaps retiring as the greatest Governor we have ever had, as his earlier promise indicated, he faces a doubtful future."

"So far the fight for the restoration of the Kabaka has been left to the Africans; they have done well. But will it be won by themselves alone? It now appears that the future good of Uganda hinges on this one man, Mutesa II. If he continues in exile, no one will be happy in Uganda, white or black, Asian or American, missionary or merchant, administrator or administered."

#### STATEMENT BY THE AFRICA BUREAU

The Committee of the Africa Bureau expressed the appreciation which many people in Britain who support it have felt at the restrained and dignified manner in which the people of Buganda have conducted themselves since the deposition of the Kabaka, and during the visit of Her Majesty the Queen. They added that "in the light of experience elsewhere in Africa these are virtues which should not be spurned but should be recognised and encouraged by our administration."

#### C.M.S. CALL TO PRAYER

The Church Missionary Society has issued a Special Membership Bulletin<sup>2</sup> outlining the recent events in Buganda, describing the collapse of confidence in the country as the result of the banishment of the Kabaka, and calling to prayer those who are concerned. Canon Max Warren, the General Secretary of the C.M.S. says in the Bulletin: "It would appear

<sup>1</sup>A correspondent writing from Kampala (May 21) said that the ban on foreign goods was having a disastrous effect on trade.

<sup>2</sup>Copies of the BULLETIN may be obtained from The Home Secretary, C.M.S. House, 6 Salisbury Square, London, E.C.4.

that the strength of the feelings of the Baganda with regard to the Kabakaship and the passions related with it were underestimated by the Governor of Uganda and his advisers. The result has been to introduce into a constitutional issue emotional factors which are in grave danger of taking over control. There is a mounting tide of bitterness which for the time being has united in hostility to British authority the many discordant elements in the political scene in Buganda. This has taken various forms, the most notable of which is the creation of what may be called a 'collective will' on the part of the Baganda on the return of Edward Mutesa II as Kabaka . . . There is a quality of resistance in this collective will which represents something very ominous indeed for the future peace of the Protectorate and is not the least of the reasons why this special Bulletin is commended to your attention as a background for your prayers."

He mentions that "a direct result of the unhappy state of affairs obtaining in Buganda to-day is that not only have congregations in many churches shrunk almost to vanishing point but social relations between Black and White in the Church have been in many cases seriously affected." But rays of hope exist in the deep and genuine Christian faith of some Baganda, and loyalty to the Bishop on the part of the clergy, the fact that lines of personal communication are still intact between many Black and White and may yet prove invaluable, and in the forthcoming visit to Uganda of Sir Keith Hancock. "It is in particular relation to this visit" that prayers are invited. For the renewal and strengthening of confidence that Sir Keith said was needed, "we must pray urgently." Tuesday, June 15, is to be a day of prayer.

#### THE OWEN FALLS DAM

Roy Lewis, editor of *New Commonwealth* (May 13, 1954) after attending the opening of the Owen Falls dam by Her Majesty the Queen wrote that "the provision of the first 15,000 kW. from the dam marks a fateful turning point in Uganda, and may well open a new chapter in Kenya politically and economically . . . The scheme starts Uganda on the path of industrialisation—higher living standards, higher national income, more education and social services, and a diversified economy—but means also new conditions of work and the changed mentality which goes with industrial discipline for the African." If an anticipated bulk sale of electricity to Kenya goes through "a new strategic link between Kenya and Uganda" will be provided "at the very moment when the crisis over the Kabaka of Buganda forced Britain to work out very different political futures for the two territories, one to be multi-racial, and one a 'mainly native state'. No less important, it brings Egypt's vital sphere of interest right into East Africa" for Egypt is contributing to the scheme.

Uganda "is being relentlessly hurried forward; and the inevitable question is: To whose interest? Both conservative and even xenophobic Buganda tribal opposition and the ill-organised and still weak (but growing) National Congress movement are in their different ways a reaction to doubts of the answer to that question . . .

"The scheme offers the Uganda people immense opportunities if they can be brought to realise it. The task will be to associate the people with possible development, and discredit the idea put out that the dam is in some way for European benefit alone. It is necessary to face the fact that the Baganda

are inclined to look this £15 million gift-horse in the mouth, and lead them to a more constructive and courageous way of thinking. It would certainly be foolish to suppose that this marvellous technical achievement of itself will win the people's support. The dam, as the Governor said, belongs to the people. But the people have yet to be convinced, in the face of tendentious propaganda, that they will not end by belonging to the dam."

#### SECOND EDITOR ARRESTED

Dr. A. K. Ddamba, the editor of the *Uganda Express* and the *Uganda Post* has been arrested on four counts of sedition and one charge of libel. The previous editor, Mr. Kiwanuka has been "rusticated".<sup>1</sup>

## General

#### ROYAL TECHNICAL COLLEGE

In a speech to the East Africa Central Legislative Assembly, when introducing the Royal Technical College of East Africa Bill, Mr. Newbold spoke of the merging of two projects—the technical college proposed by the British and three East African Governments (towards which the British Government had given £150,000), and the Mahatma Gandhi Memorial College for intermediate, and in due course, higher education. Agreement was reached that the two projects should be merged, "and the Gandhi Memorial funds (to date £150,000) placed at the disposal of the Royal Technical College for utilisation, particularly in the faculties of arts, science and commerce. This generous gesture is a proof of the happy and fruitful results which follow interracial co-operation."

The Royal Technical College will be administered as a completely multi-racial institution, providing higher education of a technical and technological nature, and also education in arts up to a certain level at which they would be eligible to enter a university, such as Makerere, to take a degree. In engineering and commerce, students will be trained up to a standard equivalent to a university degree or to the educational requirements for associate membership of the professional institutes of England.

## THE SUDAN

#### PRIME MINISTER'S VIEWS

In an exclusive interview with the Prime Minister of the Sudan, Ismail el Azhari, the Special Correspondent of the *Sunday Times* (May 23, 1954) Mr. J. B. Slade-Baker, said the Prime Minister "refused to commit himself to the exact form of union with Egypt, which he considers possible, saying that this was a problem for the Constituent Assembly; but his subsequent remarks made it clear that what he hopes for is some kind of link which would ensure the independence of the Sudan while maintaining the friendly relations which now exist with Egypt. He spoke of the connection as 'brotherhood', saying that the relationship should be that of equals, not of master and mastered, and suggested some such affinity as

<sup>1</sup>See DIGEST, Vol. II, No. 1.

exists between Egypt and the States of the Arab League. No one, Ismail el Azhari asserted, wished to bring Egyptian influence into the Sudan, and he emphasised that in no circumstances would control of defence, financial policy and foreign affairs be allowed to pass out of the hands of the Sudanese."

The Prime Minister estimated that the entire process of "Sudanisation" will take up to two and a half years. In the case of the administration, the Sudan Defence Force and the police, Sudanisation will be completed by the end of this year or early in 1955.

#### SAFEGUARDS FOR FOREIGN INVESTMENT

The attitude of the Sudanese Government to foreign business houses has been stated by the Minister of Economics and Commerce, speaking in the Sudan Parliament. He said that "all foreigners in the Sudan may rest assured that the Government is doing and will continue to do all in its power to maintain a state of public security in which they may go about their business with absolute confidence . . . I wish to state with emphasis that the Government welcomes any foreign company of repute which, while asking for no exclusive rights, is ready to embark, in collaboration with the Sudanese, on valuable developments which the Sudanese are not able to undertake unaided." (*East Africa & Rhodesia*, April 22, 1954.)

## WEST AFRICA The Gold Coast

#### THE NEW CONSTITUTION

MR. HENRY HOPKINSON, Minister of State for the Colonies, announced in the House of Commons (April 28, 1954) that exchanges between Her Majesty's Government and the Government of the Gold Coast on constitutional reform had been successfully concluded.

Under the proposed new Constitution, the major changes are that the Executive Council—in future to be referred to as the Cabinet—is to consist entirely of elected members from the Legislative Assembly. In the Legislative Assembly there is to be no representation of Special Interests, i.e., mining and commercial interests. The Governor retains responsibility for external affairs including defence; Togoland, which is administered by Britain under the United Nations Trusteeship Council; and internal security. Public service remains the responsibility of the Governor until it can be handed over to an independent Public Service Commission. Until such time as the Judicial Service Commission becomes an executive committee to be consulted by the Governor over the appointments of judiciary officers, these appointments remain the sole responsibility of the Governor.

Additions have been made to the Constitution with a view to encouraging foreign investment and Sir Reginald Saloway, the Officer administering the Gold Coast, wrote to Mr. Oliver Lyttelton (April 9, 1954) stating that "The Government intends that there shall be an Economic Adviser to the Government who would be responsible to the Cabinet through the Prime Minister and who would attend Cabinet meetings when required to do so. It is not proposed that this office should be

provided for in the Constitution, but I take this opportunity to inform you that the Government intends to appoint an Economic Adviser from overseas with wide practical experience in dealing with general economic problems. The present Government has no plans for nationalising industry beyond the extent to which public utilities are already nationalised. Nevertheless in order to ensure that, if the nationalisation of a particular industry by a successor Government should be considered necessary, suitable means for guaranteeing the payment of fair compensation will be available, the Government trusts the appropriate provision for this purpose may be included in the Constitution."

#### COMMENTS IN PARLIAMENT

Mr. Henry Hopkinson concluding his statement in the House of Commons (April 28, 1954) said: "Under these changes, the powers retained by Her Majesty's Government are the minimum which they must retain so long as they have any responsibility for the Gold Coast. These changes must therefore be regarded as the last stage before the Gold Coast assumes full responsibility for its own affairs. The grant of such responsibility within the Commonwealth is a matter for the United Kingdom Government and Parliament and I can say that at the appropriate time Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom will be prepared to take such steps as may be necessary for that purpose. Full membership of the Commonwealth, is, of course, a different question which . . . would be a matter for consultation between all existing members of the Commonwealth."

On the question of membership of the Commonwealth, Mr. James Griffiths, M.P., said: "While I appreciate that the next stage will be the final stage towards what is usually called Dominion status, and that admission into the Commonwealth is a matter for Commonwealth countries generally, at the same time I hope that the Government and the House as a whole will say that they look forward to the day when the first all-African State will become a full member of the British Commonwealth."

#### COMMENTS IN THE PRESS

*West Africa* (May 15, 1954) in an editorial entitled "Mr. Nkrumah's Constitution" said: "Colonial Office draftsmen have never devised a more delicate mechanism than the new Gold Coast constitution. The guarantee that it will work, however, is not their skill, but the fact that its provisions correspond so exactly to the Gold Coast's needs and aspirations, and are the result of proposals originating in the Gold Coast itself. The Legislative Assembly and the C.P.P. (Convention People's Party) leaders have shown their political maturity by accepting and contributing to an arrangement which can only work by virtue of the good faith of all parties to it.

"The Constitution ensures that there is a 'breathing space' for civil service reorganisation by providing that the Governor's control of the service will last at least a year, before it passes to a Public Service Commission . . . Even after control has passed to the Commission, the key job of Attorney-General remains under the control of the Governor in consultation with the Prime Minister. But to ensure that those jobs usually recognised to carry the greatest political influence, chiefly those of Permanent Secretaries, do not become the subject of

political dispute, appointments to them will be made, from the start, only in consultation with the Prime Minister. Paradoxically such consultation while it might be said to bring political influence to bear on other appointments, is a means of ensuring that these officials can feel secure from such influence."

### THE COMING ELECTIONS

Party manifestoes are being issued, and speeches made in the election campaign for 104 Members of Parliament. In the course of one speech, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, the Prime Minister, said: "The struggle is not yet over. The enemy is still at our heels in various concealed but obvious [*sic*] ways, trying to undermine and break the liberation movement, and frustrate our efforts towards self-rule. But the initiative is still with us and we are confident of success. We should not relax our party discipline at this crucial hour . . ."

Commenting on the strength of the Opposition likely to be met by the Convention People's Party, *West Africa* (May 29, 1954) wrote: "It is by no means certain that the official 'Opposition', the Ghana Congress Party will give the most trouble to the C.P.P. during the coming Gold Coast general election. The Moslem Association and the new Northern People's Party may do better than the G.C.P.—though all three together are unlikely to provide more than token opposition in the new Legislative Assembly. But the calibre of many individual members of the G.C.P. is such that the party's election manifesto must be treated with respect . . . Altogether the manifesto, couched in restrained and clear language, compares well with such documents elsewhere in the world. But while it successfully points to the most obvious of the C.P.P.'s deficiencies, it offers no real alternative. Above all it lacks popular appeal. It will strengthen the convictions of the C.P.P.'s opponents without causing any doubts for its supporters."

### THE KORSAH REPORT

The Commission of Inquiry under Judge Aku Korsah, set up last December to investigate allegations of general corruption among Gold Coast Government officials announced on April 26 that it was satisfied they were not substantiated. Allegations against Dr. Nkrumah were declared to be unjustified. The Commission, however, confirmed certain instances of bribery in the case of two Ministerial Secretaries and recorded "that all persons holding public office should consider with all seriousness their personal and official relationship with those who seek or are in a position to seek any business transactions, and in particular contracts, with the Government; and that those in public office should pay the highest regard to their obligations in respect of their possession of confidential information such as the proceedings of a Tender Board."

The *Spectator Daily* (Accra, April 28, 1954) commented: "The allegation of bribery and corruption in high places has died down tamely to the satisfaction of every person who loved the name of the Gold Coast. The allegation had been proved baseless. A few cases of corruption had come to light, but they were 'endemic' in the lower grades of the public service. The country had nothing to hide. The experience of the last few months should be a torch to lead responsible people more confidently."

The *Ashanti Pioneer* (Kumasi) said that the Gold Coast had yet to develop and appreciate a really keen sense of civic responsibility. It was a country where the sense of family, of clan and of tribe was still far stronger than that of state or nation.

### COMMENT ON THE C.P.P.

*The Economist* (March 20, 1954) published an article from their Gold Coast Correspondent commenting on the marked changes in the policy of the Convention People's Party (Dr. Nkrumah's party) since 1950. The writer said "The party programme was based upon immediate independence and there had been little in the preliminaries to the elections of 1950 to suggest that the C.P.P. might not be irrevocably committed to left-wing extremism. Indeed, Dr. Nkrumah was serving a sentence at the time for fomenting violence. This period of turbulence has to be borne in mind in judging the significance of political events in the Gold Coast in the last nine months. It is clear that three years of practical experience of government under the able and patient guidance of the Governor and the British *ex-officio* ministers and officials have been sufficient to offset most of the articles of faith with which the party came to power. In the process of introducing an ambitious programme of extended education and of widening the scope of the social services, the African Ministers have realised the cost of welfare and administration in terms of the country's revenue and the need for trained officials to carry on the whole programme of welfare.

"This is the realisation that explains a number of acts of policy on the part of the Gold Coast Government in the last nine months which accord rather uneasily with the original—and traditional—programme of 'ending colonial servitude', but accord very well with the dictates of common sense. The starting point is the conviction that independence is now assured. (Any suggestion from London that this is not the case would naturally restore all the old suspicion and extremism.) The practical policies are concerned with making independence effective—and comfortable."

Amongst these practical policies the writer described the Gold Coast Government's readiness to offer secure employment to British colonial officials and their decision to adopt recommendations put forward by Professor Arthur Lewis with regard to their economic policy.<sup>1</sup> Guarantees to investors include an undertaking that no nationalisation will be undertaken without fair compensation and the promise of assistance in arranging for sites, land purchase, the provision of service and the housing of staff. Quite considerable capital reserves will be available for industrial ventures needing preliminary assistance. The only return asked is that African staff should be trained for all types of work and responsibility. All money spent on such training will be deductible for the purposes of company income tax.

The writer expressed the hope that the many "indications of sobriety and moderation" may receive as wide attention as did the recent inquiry into corruption and concluded: "An exclusive reporting of unfavourable happenings tends to create in the African mind the belief that although the Gold Coast Government has progressed in understanding and goodwill, there has been no comparable development in Britain. Such a suspicion would now be more likely than any other single

<sup>1</sup>See *DIGEST*, Vol. II, No. 1.

factor to discourage the government from holding to its present enlightened course."

## Nigeria

### COMPULSORY EDUCATION CELEBRATIONS

TYPICAL of the enthusiasm for education and knowledge which is sweeping over post-war Africa and Asia, is the decision of the Western Regional Government of Nigeria to usher in compulsory primary education next year with a week of festivities, public holidays and prayer, according to the Commonwealth News Agency. These celebrations are to start on Friday, January 14, 1955, and will continue until January 21. Free compulsory primary education will come into force in the Western Region of Nigeria on Monday, January 17. On that date all children of school age will take their places in the primary schools which are being established, to begin their first school year. In an official announcement the Western Regional Government stated that it hoped that in a few years, illiteracy among young people will be a thing of the past. "The Western Regional Government feels that so important an event as the introduction of free compulsory primary education should be celebrated in a manner worthy of such a project," states the official announcement, describing the week of celebrations which has been planned.

### NEW SCHOOLS

In his drive to secure the new buildings for the schools that will be needed, the Minister of Public Works of the Western Region of Nigeria, the Hon. E. A. Babalola, recently called a meeting of over 200 building contractors drawn from all over the Western Region and including big foreign and Nigerian contractors.

The Minister for Local Government, Mr. Obafemi Awolowo, told the contractors about the gigantic constructional programmes; in order to get all the necessary buildings erected in time, the Regional Government was determined to break away from the Government financial instructions which he thought were limiting the pace of progress. Mr. Awolowo urged the African contractors to unite and form strong companies of contractors as it was only by doing so that they would be able to compete with foreign firms of contractors. African contractors could get loans from the Government if they got together. (*Commonwealth News Agency*.)

## HIGH COMMISSION TERRITORIES

### SOUTH AFRICAN PRESS ON DR. MALAN'S MOTION<sup>1</sup>

*Die Transvaler* (an official Nationalist<sup>2</sup> paper, April 15, 1954) commented that until quite recently Britain had done practically nothing to develop the territories but expected the Union to provide the Natives with a livelihood. One got the

<sup>1</sup>See DIGEST, Vol. II, No. 1.

<sup>2</sup>Dr. Malan's party.

impression that Britain would like to have all the benefits of co-operation with the Union but would like to place all the burdens on the Union. "Successive British Governments seem to go out of their way to retain the uncertain friendship of India but they do not hesitate to slap the Union in the face for the umpteenth time. The Commonwealth is supposed to be based on intimate friendship and co-operation. If the treatment which the Union has enjoyed in connection with the transfer of the Protectorates is an example of that friendship and co-operation, the time has indeed come for the Union to consider thoroughly its position in the Commonwealth."

The *Cape Argus* (which gives general support to the United Party, April 14, 1954) commented that it was regrettable that South Africa was unpopular abroad but the facts of international life must be faced and "the Government should resist any temptation to fly into a tantrum and to make the Protectorates a party-political issue in South Africa." The Government would be wise to resume negotiations even though the atmosphere was unfavourable and at the same time to attempt to educate responsible opinion abroad on the merits of the Union's claim.

## Basutoland

REPLYING TO Dr. Malan's allegation that there was Communist agitation in Basutoland, the President-General of the Basutoland African Congress, Mr. Ntsu Mokhehle, stated that there was no Communism in Basutoland. The Basotho, the chiefs and people's organisations of all types were against Communism and were pledged to discourage Communistic agitations vigorously in the territory. On behalf of the Congress, Mr. Mokhehle paid tribute to Sir Winston Churchill, and the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations for "their bold declarations against the incorporation of Basutoland into the Union of South Africa". (*The Friend*, Bloemfontein, May 15, 1954.)

A correspondent writing from Maseru says:<sup>3</sup>

"Basutoland is at an interesting state of development. During the last few years a process of *dissociation*, of the floating apart of the various social elements, has been gathering force. The chiefs have been growing estranged from the Government, both have been losing touch with the educated men, and generally the gulf between white and black has been growing. A lack of interest in the British connection is discernible, where twenty years ago there was enthusiasm."

"The Basutoland Council, set up in 1903, and originally nominated by the Paramount, has lately been made more democratic by the inclusion of about one-third elected members.

"This concession has failed to interest the progressive elements, who two years ago set up a Basutoland African Congress.<sup>4</sup> Congress got the coolest of welcomes from the Administration.

"Dr. Malan's threatening attitude has awakened all elements in Basutoland to the external dangers. This is reflected in a greatly increased awareness among the chiefs of the need to bring educated men into the political framework. It is also reflected in a feeling of relief and gratitude among all elements

<sup>3</sup>The editor of the DIGEST does not necessarily endorse the views of the correspondent, who has had a good deal of experience in Basutoland.

<sup>4</sup>See DIGEST, Vol. I, Nos. 7 and 11.

to Sir Winston Churchill for his forthright reply to Dr. Malan. Even Congress issued a statement paying tribute to Sir Winston.

"At the same moment as this has happened, there is now sitting in the Territory an 'Administrative Reforms Committee' set up to examine the framework of 'Native Administration'. This committee is composed of Sir Henry Moore, ex-Governor-General of Ceylon, and another member, and is assisted by the Paramount Chief's advisers. Wherever they go in Basutoland they are met with demands for more self-government.

"It is of the highest importance to remember that in his recent *Native Administration in the British African Territories* (Vol. V) Lord Hailey recommended a Legislative Council for Basutoland. This recommendation was warmly received by the Basuto."

## Swaziland

IN AN article describing Swaziland to-day, the Colonial Correspondent of *The Times* (April 15, 1954) wrote of a country "bursting with economic initiative, and, for a territory of its size, with a population of only 200,000, not badly off, but having certain basic weaknesses in that it is still under United Kingdom Treasury control, a fact which slows up development." The correspondent describes Paramount Chief Sobhuza II as one of the outstanding chiefs in Africa and mentions the steps being taken towards "decentralising and democratising the Paramount Chief's Council by starting a national treasury, and district native courts, and planning a system of standing committees of the Paramount and lesser chiefs' councils. The Paramount Chief maintains liaison *indunas* as a link between his Government and administrators or private firms." The article concludes: "Over all looms the question of incorporation with the Union. The European population (3,500, owning half the land) on the whole are averse to incorporation, although it could be argued that it is in their economic interests. They are, however, a small and clannish community and like other similar ones cling to their own ways and on the whole are happy in them. There is also among some of them a feeling that the Union is heading for incalculable complications which they would do well to avoid. So far as the Africans are concerned, they would probably follow their chiefs. Sobhuza himself is strictly diplomatic in any pronouncements he makes on the subject. He has always said that he must see concrete proposals before he gives an opinion. As a class, however, the *indunas* and intelligentsia are strongly opposed to incorporation, and if the subject were to become a live issue it is probable that the Swazis as a whole would support them."

of Native Affairs was published in Pretoria on April 20, 1954. The Bill provides for the transfer to the South African Native Trust of all land in South-West Africa set aside for the sole use and occupation of Natives. A special section of the Native Trust is to be established for South-West Africa with separate accounts for the territory . . . Provision is made for the annual transfer to the Union Government from the S.W.A. Revenue Fund of the amount normally devoted by the territory to Native Affairs . . . This is to be earmarked for the administration of Native territories in S.W.A., together with £50,000 a year from the Territorial Development Fund, which will be used for development. The Bill will come into operation on April 1, 1955. (*Pretoria News*, April 21, 1954.)

### U.N. COMMITTEE ON S.W.A.

The United Nations Committee on S.W.A.<sup>1</sup> has told the Union Government that it proposes to continue its task without the South African Representative and without reports from the Union Government on the Administration of South-West Africa.<sup>2</sup> Mr. Thanat Khoman of Thailand, Chairman of the Committee, said the Union Government's reply to his letter of January 21, in which the Union Government was invited to appoint a representative to confer with the Committee, and the Union Government's failure to do so, could only be interpreted as a refusal to co-operate for the present in the resumption of negotiations with the U.N. on the future of South-West Africa. The Committee will therefore apply an alternative procedure and consider such documents and information as may be available in the absence of reports from the Union Government. (*Windhoek Advertiser*, April 23, 1954.)

## SOUTH AFRICA

### NEW LAWS

#### THE COLOURED FRANCHISE

THE NATIONALIST Government are making a new attempt to have Coloured voters<sup>3</sup> removed from the common voters roll in the Cape Province. Previous attempts have been defeated both in Parliament, where the Coloured vote is protected by an entrenched clause in the Constitution requiring a two-thirds majority of both Houses sitting jointly; and, in law, when Dr. Malan attempted to set up a Court over the South African Supreme Court with the object of amending the Constitution.

The Prime Minister on May 19, 1954 moved the second reading of the Separate Representation of Voters Act Validation and Amendment Bill in a joint session of the Senate and the Assembly. But it has been clear that he would not get the necessary two-thirds majority unless eight members of the United Party opposition could be persuaded to join the Government and the splinter group of United Party members.

<sup>1</sup>Set up by resolution of the General Assembly, 1953, as machinery of supervision in place of Permanent Mandates Commission, to receive reports and petitions.

<sup>2</sup>Under the terms of the Mandate, and the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice, the South African Government is obliged to submit annual reports on the Mandated Territory of South-West Africa.

<sup>3</sup>See DIGEST, Vol. I, No. 10.

## SOUTH-WEST AFRICA

### UNION GOVERNMENT TAKING OVER NATIVE AFFAIRS

THE SOUTH-WEST Africa Native Affairs Administration Bill, providing for the transfer of the administration of Native Affairs in the Mandated Territory to the Union Department

The debate was adjourned on May 27 to enable the leader of the splinter group, Mr. Bailey Bekker, to try to find the eight. Meanwhile Dr. Malan had produced a letter from Mr. George Golding, president of the Coloured People's National Union suggesting the calling of a Coloured people's convention to discuss a compromise suggestion that Mr. Bekker has put forward. This is that those Coloureds at present on the common roll should remain there, but all new registrations should be on a separate roll. Mr. Golding's letter has been repudiated by leaders of rival Coloured organisations.

Dr. Malan has said that if he does not get the two-thirds majority "the main issue" before the coming Provincial Elections in the Union would be this question. "We are going to ask the provincial electorate for a renewed and more decisive mandate." Mr. J. G. N. Strauss, leader of the Opposition United Party, spoke of the loyalty of the Coloured people who had shown themselves responsible and a faithful ally of the White man. "The overwhelming weight of the evidence" he said, "went to show that the Coloured people were against separate representation, and that if the Government persisted it would seriously disturb peaceful relations, and would tend to drive the Coloured people into the rapidly forming anti-White, non-European front in South Africa." (*Rand Daily Mail*, May 20, 1954.)

According to Mr. John Cope, M.P. (United Party) "certain leaders of the Coloured people, known to be hostile to the Government's plan to remove Coloureds from the common voters roll, were questioned by the Special Branch of the C.I.D. on the eve of giving evidence to the Parliamentary Select Committee in Cape Town . . . It was singular" said Mr. Cope, "that the few Coloured leaders who supported a separate roll had not been favoured by similar attentions." (*Rand Daily Mail*, April 22, 1954.)

#### WESTERN AREAS REMOVAL SCHEME

The Minister of Native Affairs, Dr. H. F. Verwoerd, has put forward a clause amending the Natives Resettlement Bill entitling Western Areas Natives<sup>1</sup> to buy land in the reserves when they lose their freehold in the Western Areas. (As the majority of Africans living in the Western Areas have been citizens of Johannesburg and have lost all ties with the reserves, this in no way compensates for their loss of freehold near Johannesburg.)

According to a report in *Die Volksblad* (Nationalist, March 20, 1954) bloodshed and great difficulty were expected when the removal of 70,000 Natives from the Johannesburg "Black Spots" began. This was anticipated by police officers, at least two city councillors and Native administrators. They believed that any trouble would be due to the United Party and especially the Liberals dominating it, Johannesburg United Party newspapers and certain local English clergymen.

The S.A. Institute of Race Relations has issued a statement on the Bill describing in detail the extraordinary powers of the Natives Resettlement Board which will be enabled to override the Johannesburg City Council and, in certain circumstances, even to replace it, while the cost of the Board's activities will have to be borne by the City Council. They draw special attention to the "drastic interference with the traditional relationship between local and central government in order to emphasise to what lengths the Government is pre-

pared to go in enforcing the removal of the Africans from the Western Areas." (*Race Relations News*, April, 1954.)

#### EDUCATION

After hearing the Secretary of Native Affairs, Dr. W. W. M. Eiselen, outline the "New Deal" for Native Education<sup>2</sup> to the 24th session of the United Transkeian Territories General Council (Bunga) at Umtata, Mr. S. Mabude, in reply, said: "I have the impression that you respect the South Africa Act when it suits your purpose, but not when it suits ours." That Act provides that Native education should be under the control of the provincial authorities. "We have certain fears about the transferring of the control of Native education . . . to the Department of Native Affairs, as laid down in the Bantu Education Act, and we think our fears are justified. We ask if we will not have a deterioration in our education as a result of this. We have witnessed such deterioration in certain matters since Union in 1910." Mr. Mabude said the Act had not been drawn up in consultation with the Native people. The result was much misunderstanding and distrust. (*Rand Daily Mail*, April 28, 1954.)

Mr. Ndamase moved a resolution, which was passed by the Council, deplored the provisions of the Act, which provided for an education for the Bantu "which is inferior to that of the White and Coloured sections of the population." Mr. Ndamase said "Everything that happens in this land depends on the co-operation of the races. A common system of education is the basis of that co-operation."

At the biennial meeting of the S.A. Christian Council in Bloemfontein, the Rt. Hon. Mr. R. Feetham, former Judge of the Appeal Court, said that serious encroachment on religious liberty might arise from the exercise by the Minister of Native Affairs of the powers conferred on him by the Bantu Education Act. Mr. Feetham outlined the various clauses in the Act which gave the Minister very wide powers, and also referred to the Government's refusal last year to grant permits to enter the Union to two Bishops of the African Episcopal Church, which opened up serious possibilities of similar action being taken against leaders of other churches in South Africa which had links with overseas. (*Rand Daily Mail*, May 19, 1954.)

The South African Correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian*, in an article entitled "Dangers of New South African Education Policy—Perpetuating Bantu Subordination", said that "the new Department of Native Affairs has shown itself ruthlessly determined to put an end to missionary schools". Other points made are that all teachers' training colleges are to be transferred to State control, and that "the object of those trying to get direct control of all education is to educate the African for a subordinate and separate place in the society of the Union. There can also be little doubt that a motive force among some, at least, of those who are framing the new policies is as far as possible to minimise English influence and to encourage Afrikaans influence among the Bantu, which has been a steady, deliberate and unexampled trend in the main Native Affairs Department during recent years. Indeed it might almost be said that the resources of the State are being used to humiliate Englishmen and exalt the Afrikaner in the State's approach to African life." (May 22, 1954.)

<sup>1</sup>See DIGEST, Vol. I, No. 12, Vol. II, No. 1.

<sup>2</sup>See DIGEST, Vol. I, No. 12, Vol. II, No. 1.

#### LABOUR RELATIONS

The Trade Union Unity Committee has by a majority of fifty-six votes to six rejected the proposal in the new Industrial Conciliation Bill<sup>1</sup> for an Industrial Conciliation Board to be appointed by the Minister of Labour. By similar majorities the Conference rejected proposals for trade union apartheid. (*The Times*, May 6, 1954.) In a memorandum commenting on the new Bill, the Committee prophesies that "many of the newer industries established in South Africa since 1946 will, before they have taken too deep a root, go elsewhere to re-establish themselves under more practical laws." The Committee is "convinced that the implementation of the Bill will cause the disintegration and eventual destruction of our trade union movement." The Committee has seven top men from the South African Federation of Trade Unions, three from the S.A. Trades and Labour Council, two from the Western Province Federation of Labour Unions, two from the Amalgamated Engineering Union, and therefore can be said to represent unions with a total membership of over 200,000 workers. (*South Africa*, May 15, 1954.)

#### UNIVERSITY SEGREGATION

Professor C. M. Dent, the Principal of Fort Hare University College (an African Institution), in evidence before the Commission on University Apartheid,<sup>2</sup> said that it would cost £200,000 to add 200 extra students to Fort Hare. He said the fees could not be increased in any way, as "there are some who can afford to pay and some who say they can come without a bursary and find themselves in desperate straits. Some students even enter the college suffering from malnutrition, but a good diet helps them to overcome it." He added that some of the best students at Fort Hare had been the sons of washerwomen and others the sons of widows. (*Pretoria News*, April 21, 1954.)

The S.A. Institute of Race Relations in its evidence said that without sacrificing the essential aims and functions of a university it would be impracticable to set up separate facilities for the different races. The deterioration in standards of scholarship, which was more than probable in segregated institutions, would be detrimental to the whole cause of university education in South Africa, and would be a serious loss of opportunity for educational development to that section of the community—the non-Europeans—which was in greatest need. In South Africa, even more than in a homogeneous society, it is necessary that a university should endeavour to fulfil its true aims. (*Rand Daily Mail*, May 6, 1954.)

Dr. T. B. Davie, Principal of Cape Town University, said that the university refuted the basis on which the commission had been established, and was in the peculiar position of having to give evidence on only certain aspects in which it did not believe. The university stood to lose something which it held precious. Referring to Fort Hare, he said no one was really happy at the outcome of this "experiment", and added that when separated, students began to feel discriminated against, and if they did not get a sense of frustration, they got one of animosity. (*Pretoria News*, May 13, 1954.)

Meanwhile the *Cape Times* (April 21, 1954) reported that the Students' Representative Council of the University of

<sup>1</sup>See DIGEST, Vol. II, No. 1.

<sup>2</sup>See DIGEST, Vol. II, No. 1.

Cape Town resolved by eleven votes to four to ask the university authorities to build a residence open to students of all races. The resolution stated that the residence should be open to "all students who wish to avail themselves of it" providing this was possible without contravening the provisions of the Group Areas Act.

The National Council of Women, Cape Town Branch, passed a resolution opposing the introduction of a colour bar as being against the recognised conception of a university. (*Cape Argus*, April 21, 1954.)

In reply to the protest recently made by the Bishop of Johannesburg's Committee, the following Universities have already sent messages: Gottingen, Edinburgh, Turin, the United Student Christian Council of New York, Budapest, Washington, Aberdeen, Mainz, Columbia New York, Wellington, N.Z., Dublin and Adelaide. The replies undertake to bring the statement of the Bishop's Committee to the notice of the university bodies. (*Rand Daily Mail*, May 10, 1954.)

The Natal Indian Congress had decided not to give evidence before the University Segregation Commission because the Congress was totally opposed to the entire policy of apartheid and segregation. (*Natal Daily News*, April 24, 1954.)

#### TRANSVAAL LAW SOCIETY AND AFRICAN ATTORNEY

The Transvaal Law Society lost a case it brought against an African attorney, Mr. Nelson Mandela, in an attempt to expel him from his profession as a result of his conviction in the Defiance Campaign. The Supreme Court gave judgment and deprived the Law Society of costs. Mr. Justice Ramsbottom said that Mr. Mandela's offence—for which he had already been punished—"had nothing to do with his practice as an attorney. When he intended to bring about the repeal of certain laws he regarded as unjust, he was obviously motivated by a desire to serve his fellow non-Europeans." The sole question before the court was whether the facts on which Mr. Mandela was convicted showed him to be of such a character as to be unworthy to remain in the ranks of an honourable profession. The court found that "nothing before us suggested this in the slightest degree or reflected on Mr. Mandela's character."

#### M.P. FOR AN HOUR

The *Rand Daily Mail*'s editorial comment on the expulsion (under the law for Suppression of Communism) of Miss Ray Alexander, who polled the majority of votes in the election for Natives' Representative for Cape Western, from Parliament before she had taken her seat said: "the Government comes out of the affair far worse than anyone else; all it has done is to perpetuate the farce of the Cape Western elections." The editorial described the "chequered" history of the constituency—"after one of its representatives had been expelled from Parliament another sneaked in through a loophole and was thrown out later; and now its third representative, Miss Ray Alexander, has been expelled in advance."

"Apart from Government interference in a so-called free election, there is one other disquieting aspect of this matter. The Native electors of Cape Western, since the day they returned Mr. Sam Kahn, have chosen either a Communist or a 'named' person. This is a most disturbing trend, but it is

important to know its true cause. To attribute it only to the fact that 'Natives are a lot of Communists' is to argue in a way that is superficial and specious. The real, deep-rooted cause is to be found in the creation of a separate voters roll for Natives. At first they elected moderates like Rheinallt Jones, Buchanan and Molteno; but, as Sir Herbert Stanley pointed out in evidence to the Select Committee on the Coloured Voters Bill, 'if you herd the Natives into a separate (voting) kraal, the tendency will be for them to vote for the extreme person rather than the moderate person.' (April 29, 1954.)

## Obituary

### AGATHA HARRISON

We DEEPLY regret the death of Agatha Harrison who, apart from all that she had done for the cause of Indian freedom, and for international understanding, contributed also to the work being done in the United Nations and Britain on African questions. Each year at the U.N. sessions she was to be found tactfully but persistently trying to bring together those whose people were at variance so that by confronting one another, their views and interests, if seemingly irreconcilable, could at least be understood by one another and controversy conducted in a spirit which would emphasise whatever could be found in common. She had a genius for discovering the positive elements in a situation when antagonists were determined to see only the negative in their opponents.

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### BOOK LIST

#### SOUTH AFRICA

- BROOKES, EDGAR. *South Africa in a Changing World*. Oxford University Press, Cape Town, 1953. An analysis of South Africa's position in the multi-racial Commonwealth and in the world community, written by a distinguished Christian Liberal, who for a number of years represented African interests in the South African senate.
- DAVIDSON, BASIL. *Report on Southern Africa*. Jonathan Cape, 1952. A contemporary report on the nature of political movements and racial issues in South and Central Africa.
- GIBBS, HENRY. *Twilight in South Africa*. Jarrolds, 1950. A narrative of present-day problems and conditions by an English author who visited South Africa in 1949.

HATCH, JOHN. *Dilemma of South Africa*. Dobson, 1952. A serious effort by a British writer to discover the main issues of conflict.

KEPPEL JONES, ARTHUR. *South Africa*. Hutchinson's University Library, 1949. A sound short history of South Africa written by a South African historian whose political prophecy has won him renown.

de KIEWIET, C. W. *A History of South Africa*. Oxford University Press, 1941. A brilliant study of the social and economic forces which shaped South Africa, by a South African Professor of History, now in the U.S.A.

MALAN, DR. D. F. *Speeches of South Africa House*.

MACMILLAN, W. M. *Bantu, Boer & Briton*. London, 1929. A documented survey of all the factors which have contributed to the present racial problems in South Africa.

MARQUARD, LEO. *The Peoples and Policies of South Africa*. Oxford University Press, 1952. A study of the historical background, the people and current political problems by a distinguished Afrikaner Liberal.

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ROUX, EDWARD. *Time Longer than Rope*. Gollancz, 1948. A history of African freedom movements in South Africa from the eighteenth century to 1947.

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van der HORST, SHEILA. *Native Labour in South Africa*. Oxford University Press, 1942. A valuable survey by a South African economist covering the period of the nineteenth century as well as present-day labour conditions.

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S. A. INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS. *A Handbook on Race Relations*. Invaluable reference book.

